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THE VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS OF SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

VOL. I

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prepared in 1632.

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The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain

1604-1616

Narrated by Himself

TRANSLATED BY

Annie Nettleton Bourne

together with

The Voyage of 1603

Reprinted from PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

Edward Gaylord Bourne

Professor of History in Yale University

ILLUSTRATED

IN TWO VOLUMES

Volume I

MCMXXII

ALLERTON BOOK CO.

New York

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was long looked on as an unwelcome obstacle of unknown extent across the path of the Eastern trader. Farther and farther men ranged the coast, seeking into every bay and estuary, in the vain hope that the South Sea might open to their gaze. To southwards, Magellan found a strait, but the journey was long and dangerous, and open only to the ships of Spain. To northwards France took up the search, and it was in quest of the Orient that Jacques Cartier put out from St. Malo. For a moment Chaleur Bay seemed to him the strait of his dream, but soon he came to its end, "whereof we were much torn with grief," he says in his quaint old French. On his next voyage he went in vain up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal; but the terrors of a Canadian winter, with its attendant scurvy, and the still greater horrors of the Wars of Religion, for the next half-century restricted the French to fishing voyages to Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. With the Peace of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes in 1598, France had rest from foreign and civil strife, and turned again to the nobler task of exploration. This was the quest to which the sea-captain of Brouage, Samuel de Champlain, gave the

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best years of his life, "always tra
with an hungry heart," with the
South Sea ever a day's journey in ad
Tired at last, he gave himself up to
lish on the rock of Quebec a statio
which his successors might fare for
his search for the South Sea he h
the first great explorer of Canada,
series of "Trail Makers of the
appropriately begins with his u
name.

As the new world opened out, t
for the Orient took a second pla
in the days of Champlain, his
thought chiefly of trade with th
and in the next two centuries a
great fur-trading companies, E
French, took toll of the co
pushed ever farther west
Among these, too, there were g
dreamers, men who "yearned
sky-line where the strange road
and of such was Alexander Ma
great voyage to the mouth of
river which bears his name
1789; four years later he ha
Rockies, and come out upon
the Pacific; first of white me
continent by land, the Highl
made true the dream of Ch

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As the West revealed its vastness, men gave themselves to its exploration. Another great fur-trader, indefatigable as Mackenzie, was the New Englander, Daniel Williams Harmon. If his voyages did less for geography, they tell us even more of the manners and customs of the old lords of the prairies, ere yet Canada had entered upon the experiment of seeking to make in the West a great civilization from the off-scourings of Europe.

To these records has been added "The Wild North Land," a journal of the youthful travels of the late General Sir William Butler. The record of his adventures adds hardly less than Harmon to our knowledge of a vanishing race, and also shows that in these later days the hardihood of the Celt is as cheery and as unflinching as in the day of Champlain and of Mackenzie.

To the travels of Mackenzie, Harmon and Butler I have contributed short introductions. That to the voyages of Champlain is by the late Professor Bourne of Yale, whose premature death is mourned by every student of early American history.

W. L. GRANT.

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SAMUEL DE CHAMPLA
plorer to make a detail
the coast of New Englan
and to prepare a full and
his observations. To hin
indebted for our earliest
the Indians of New
Canada and New York.
he is more than the expl
observer of the native life
of New France and at t
chief of its early historia
dent of history to-day, in a
he stands forth as perhap
earlier makers of Americ
defatigable energy and st
Frenchman who devoted
ing the name and power
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fame is impregnably estal
with the lapse of time an
knowledge of his work.

In view of all these fa
that his writings have to

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been accessible to the English reader. His earliest account of the Indians of the St. Lawrence River region, published in Paris in 1604 under the title *Des Sauvages, ou, Voyage de Sammuel Champlain de Brouage faict en la France Nouvelle, l'an mil six cens trois,* was made English and published in *Purchas His Pilgrimes,* London, 1625. In 1859 the Hakluyt Society brought out an English version of his *Brief Discours des choses plus remarquables que Sammuel Champlain de Brouage à reconneues aux Indes Occidentalles au voiage qu'il en a faict en iceles en l'année mil V^c. IIII^xx XIX & en l'année mil Vi^c I* (1598-1601), under the title *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico, 1599-1602.* The original remained unpublished until 1870, when the Abbé Laverdière published his *Œuvres de Champlain.*

It was not until 1878, some 270 years after his exploration of the New England coast, that New Englanders and others unfamiliar with French could read the earliest descriptions of the shores since so rich in historic associations, whose picturesque variety of scenery and invigorating air have rendered them familiar and even dear to thousands of fortunate sojourners from every part of our country who have only

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growing body of readers who are interested in the original narratives of the explorers, the earliest observations of the Indians as yet uncontaminated by contact with Europeans, and the local history of New England and Canada. No more fitting addition, therefore, to The Trailmakers' Series could be made than a satisfactory popular edition of Champlain's own narrative of his explorations. In such an edition the translation should be both accurate and readable, and the notes should be as brief and clear as possible. To fulfill these requirements, the translator and the editor have made an earnest effort.

The Prince Society Edition of *Champlain's Voyages* contains translations: 1, of the narrative entitled, *Des Sauvages, ou, Voyage of Sammuel Champlain de Brouage faict en la France Nouvelle, en l'an mil six cens trois,* etc., i. e., the voyage of 1603, with its description of the Indians; 2, of the narrative of 1613, entitled, *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Xaintongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine, Devisez en deux livres, ou Journal tresfidele des Observations faites és descouvertures de la Nouvelle France; tant en la description des terres, costes, rivières, ports, havres, leurs hauteurs et plusieurs decli-*

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Marine du Ponant & toutes les Descouvertures qu'il à faites en ce pais depuis l'an 1603, jusques en l'an 1629, etc. The latter course was chosen, for two reasons. First, this compilation, although hastily prepared, is in a very definite sense a revised and final edition by the author of his earlier publications. This is shown by the frequent corrections in estimates of distances and in the character of the omissions. Second, in this edition Champlain appears not only as a narrator of his own explorations, but as the historian of the earlier French discoveries and as the earliest French writer on colonization. His criticisms and judgments on the various aspects of the colonial experiments that he records help us to understand his point of view and the French point of view in regard to a number of important questions of colonial policy in regard to which the English practice was different.

The narrative of 1632, then, contains all the essentials of the earlier narratives, arranged in a systematic historical form, and, in addition, a sketch of the earlier French explorations and many interesting reflections on colonial policy. It is true the Abbé Laverdière was inclined to think that this narrative was edited by a hand unfriendly to the Recollect friars and favorable to the

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fully studied the 1632 edition, and had been unduly influenced by the summary way in which Champlain treated the voyage of 1603. In the present edition attention is called in the notes to nearly all the cases where the narrative of 1632 omits interesting details found in the earlier narratives.

The voyage of 1603 is very briefly recounted in this final narrative to avoid needless repetition. The geographical features of the St. Lawrence were more fully and accurately described in Champlain's later voyages, and his observations upon the Indians in 1603, so far as they were confirmed by later study, he incorporated with his later descriptions.

In this edition, however, it has been thought best to include Purchas's version of the voyage of 1603, even at the risk of some repetition, in order to place before the modern reader Champlain's first impressions, unrevised, of the Indians of the St. Lawrence, and the geographical details of this first voyage, especially when it could be done in so fine an example of early seventeenth century prose. This will be relished, I am sure, not only for its own beauty, but also because it lends Champlain's story the antique flavor which his own writing has for the modern Frenchman.

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The translation of that
edition of Champlain's *Vo*
(Laverdière, *Voyages, 16*
was undertaken by my wi
herself assiduously to the
I have gone over the text
paring it with the original
and occasional revision. T
free from misconceptions c
not be expected, nor will s
be entertained by any who h
ence in preparing translati
however, made especial ef
such slips to the minimum.

In the preparation of
much help was derived fr
work, but in the same way t
to-day of Herodotus or Th
and would legitimately be ai
sions of Rawlinson or Jowett
used by Mr. Otis and by M
often almost identical for pa
the versions unavoidably hav
mon. For innumerable Fren
direct narrative prose ther
English equivalent that wou
dependent translators in sub
tical form. In such cases, to g
varied form of expression
unprofitable, and such a

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place a progressively heavy handicap on each successive translator.

In preparing the notes, the voluminous commentaries of the Abbé Laverdière and Mr. Slafter have been freely drawn upon, but in most cases the source of the note has been indicated by the initial L. or S. Help has also been derived from Dr. Samuel E. Dawson's valuable *History of the St. Lawrence Basin* and from Professor Ganong's admirable monograph on *Dochet (St. Croix) Island* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2d Ser., VIII, sec. IV, 127-231), and also from Professor Ganong's *Champlain's Narrative of the Exploration and First Settlement of Acadia* (Acadiensis, IV, 179-216). That every modern student of Champlain's career owes a debt to Francis Parkman, both for kindling his interest and extending his knowledge, goes without saying.

The proper purposes of an Introduction to this edition of Champlain's *Voyages* would not be met without a sketch of the great explorer's life.

Samuel Champlain was born at Brouage, a small seaport town in the old province of Saintonge, southeast of Rochefort and opposite the island of Oléron, about the year 1567. The once excellent harbor has long

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since been filled in by th
peasant village now lies i
land. Although Champ
from early youth in the
his first known voyage w
1598 with his uncle, wh
of a French ship charter
authorities. Early in 15
given command of this sl
to the West Indies and
the annual fleet. His ob
voyage, which lasted two
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Occidentallas, the earlies
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ney may be safely attribut
of Champlain's interest in
through it he alone of all
in the colonization of No
the privilege of observing
European colony before h
one. Soon after his re
Champlain was enlisted
Chastes, the Governor of I
reconnoissance of the St. I
pany with the merchant
Francis Gravé, Sieur du I
the Breton seaport, St. M
had secured a patent from

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and had formed a trading company under whose patronage a settlement was to be made on the St. Lawrence. Champlain and Pontgravé (as he is more commonly called) explored the St. Lawrence as far as the rapids above Montreal, and later the country about Gaspé. Champlain's account of this voyage, published in 1604, he entitled, *Des Sauvages, ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain de Brouage, fait en la France Nouvelle l'an mil six cens trois.* This is the earliest detailed description we have of the Algonquin Indians of eastern Canada.[2]

When Champlain and Pontgravé returned they learned that De Chastes had died. His place as the promoter of a French colony in the New World was taken by Pierre du Gua (or Guast), Sieur de Monts, and the site selected was the milder region to the south of the mouth of the St. Lawrence. De Monts secured a charter from Henry IV

[2]See vol. II, pp. 151-229. The attention of the reader may here be called to the fact that while the English followed the Spanish usage started by Columbus, of calling the aborigines of the New World "Indians," i. e., people of the Indies, the early French writers adopted the simple descriptive name of *Sauvages,* which, in the seventeenth century, had the primary meaning "wild," e. g., as in *herbes sauvages,* "weeds," or the English, "wild animals."

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similar to the later I
charters, which granted
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New England. After fc
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waters, De Monts and his
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most suitable place for th
July, 1604. During Augu
Champlain explored the c
far west as Monhegan I
the mouth of the Kennebec
dictated a return to the set
ter of tragic misery bereft
of half its numbers, and i

[3] De Monts's charter is given
tion in the *Maine Hist. Soc. C*
VII, 2–6. Three years later J
granted the Plymouth Compan
lish a colony in the same regio
ing the prior grant of the F
rights of De Monts under it.

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Monts, encouraged by the return of his associate, Poutrincourt, with supplies, undertook a further exploration of the coast to find a more desirable location for the colony. The new ground covered in this reconnoissance was the shores of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, around Cape Cod as far as Nauset Harbour. In this region, in August, 1605, came their first clash with the Indians. Upon their return to the St. Croix, the explorers found that Pontgravé had arrived from France with reinforcements. It was then decided to remove the colony across the Bay of Fundy to the more sheltered location of Annapolis Basin. It was now given the name Port Royal. In the fall De Monts returned to France.

In September, 1606, another attempt was made, this time by Poutrincourt and Champlain, to find a more favorable site for the colony. So much of the time at their disposal, however, was consumed in following, contrary to Champlain's advice, along the coast already explored, that the only real addition to their previous exploration was the short stretch from Nauset Harbour to Wood's Hole, where they gave the name of River Champlain to the tidal passage; a name which should be restored to that tortuous channel, as a memorial of the ex-

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in September. The first winter at Quebec was a repetition of the cruel hardships which Cartier had suffered there. Ten of the little company died of scurvy and five of dysentery. Of the miseries to which the Indians were reduced in the long Canadian winter, Champlain has given a most vivid picture.

In the summer of 1609, Champlain, to cement his friendship with the Algonquins, which he regarded as an indispensable requisite for a successful settlement at Quebec, joined in one of their war parties against the Iroquois. They proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Richelieu, which was then followed to the beautiful lake to which Champlain gave his own name after a victorious encounter with the Iroquois at Ticonderoga. In September, 1609, Champlain returned to France to report to De Monts and to the King.

The early spring of 1610 found him again on his way to New France, where he again joined a war party against the Iroquois, who were ensconced in a barricade at the mouth of the Richelieu. His reasons for such participation in these Indian wars he gives at length in his narrative. This year saw no new exploration, and Champlain returned to France in the fall.

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In the spring of 1611
Canada, Champlain we
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gonquins with whom h
winter, one of his men,
Brulé, to make observa
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ence of shooting the L
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Bay). The incident of th
Vignaud's deceit is one
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of that name, as far as
and made some of the mo
servations of Indian man
that his works contain.

During these years the
plorer was constantly im

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tending interests of rival fur traders. Champlain felt that the only practical way to deal with the Indians and to advance the interests of a settlement was through the agency of a responsible monopoly, and that free, unregulated competition in dealing with Indians by rival traders would be demoralizing to all concerned. On the other hand, every grant of a monopoly called forth a storm of protests and accusations from the traders not admitted to these privileges, which, they asserted, should belong to all Frenchmen in common. The year 1614 Champlain spent in France, trying to adjust these matters and arranging for the establishment of missions among the Indians. In April, 1615, he set sail for New France with four Recollect friars, who thus began one of the most wide-reaching and imposing missionary enterprises of modern times.

It was an eventful year also in Champlain's experience, for it was marked by the discovery of Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, an attack on the Iroquois in central New York, and a winter in an Indian village. Following his route of 1613, up the Ottawa, he continued his exploration westward to Lake Nipissing and thence to the shores of Lake Huron. The Huron In-

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narrative of 1632, selected for this edition, closes. The rest of it, a little more than half, belongs to the history of Quebec and of Canada, and not to the story of American exploration. It is the record of Champlain's devotion to his great design of establishing a New France in America, and of the obstacles arising from the lack of real vital interest in the work in the minds of the ruling powers in France and from the jealousies of rival traders and companies. In the years 1628 and 1629, to internal dissensions the new peril of outside hostility was added, and the prospects of a New France were temporarily eclipsed by the English attack upon and capture of Quebec. In the years immediately following, Champlain labored in France in the interest of the colony. Most important among the varied activities in its behalf was the preparation of a revised narrative of his explorations and of the history of New France down to 1629. This work was the *Voyages* of 1632.

Canada had now been restored to France, and in 1633 Champlain returned to Canada under a new commission as Governor. But little over two years of life remained, and these, like the thirty of ceaseless activity that had preceded them, were devoted to

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public in 1854.[4] Yet although we have no physical likeness of the man, his moral image is ineffaceably stamped upon the memory of every student of his writings. The more familiar one becomes with these narratives, the more solid and permanent is the impression of a singularly well-rounded character, full of strength, dignity, and sweetness.

If we compare him with the other explorers and founders of that age he stands above them all in the range of his achievement. The explorations of De Soto and Coronado surpass those of Champlain in the extent of territory covered and in magnitude, but the results fall short of his in accuracy of detail and in permanent positive contribution to knowledge. The figure of La Salle is more brilliant on the page of the historian, but he was inferior to Champlain as a leader, and, like De Soto and Coronado, he ranks as an explorer only; Champlain, on the other hand, was not only an explorer who "threw light into the dark places of American geography and brought order out of chaos of American cartography,"[5] he was also the historian of his expeditions and

[4] *A Critical Examination of Champlain's Portraits.* Acadiensis, Vol. IV (1904), pp. 306–312.

[5] Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 256.

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he told with such candor has played a far larger part in American history and life than fell to the fortune of the people of New France, yet the outlook and range of Champlain's achievements are far more comprehensive than those of either Bradford or Winthrop. Neither of them was an explorer, nor did either become a sympathetic and observing student of Indian life. Thus, in some one or two of the many fields of his activity, others have surpassed Champlain, but no other Frenchman and no Spaniard or Englishman has attained his high level and wide range. His fame is steadily increasing, and the two races who dwell in the scene of his labors, however antagonistic in other things, unite in a friendly rivalry in rendering homage to his name.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

New Haven, June, 1906.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER III

PAGE

Voyage to Florida under the reign of King Charles IX by Jean Ribaut. He has a fort built, called Fort Charles, on the River of May. Albert, the Captain, whom he leaves there, has no provisions, and is killed by the soldiers. They are taken to England by an Englishman. Voyage of Captain Laudonnière. Narrowly escapes being killed by his own men; has four of them hanged. Is pursued by famine. Recompense from the Emperor Charles to those who discovered the Indies. The French driven from the River of May by the Spaniards. They attack Laudonnière. The French killed and hanged with inscriptions 16

CHAPTER IV

The King of France feigns to take no notice for a time of the injury that he has received from the Spaniards in the cruelty that they showed to the French. Vengeance for it was reserved for Sieur Chevalier de Gourgues. His voyage; his arrival on the coast of Florida. Is attacked by some Spaniards whom he defeats and treats as they did the French.. 25

CHAPTER V

The voyage that Sieur de Roberval despatched. Sends Alphonse of Saintonge to Labrador. His departure. His arrival. Return on account of the ice. The voy-

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

PAGE

de Poutrincourt goes with Sieur de Monts. Complaints of this Sieur de Monts. His commission revoked..... 57

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

Description of La Héve. Of Port Mouton. Of Cape Negro. Of the Cape Sable and Sable Bay. Of Cormorant Island. Of Cape Fourchu. Of Long Island. Of Bay Saint Mary. Of Port Saint Margaret, and of all the remarkable things that there are along the coast of Acadie..... 66

CHAPTER II

Description of Port Royal, and its peculiarities. Of High Island. Of the Harbor of Mines. Of the Great French Bay. Of the River Saint John, and what we have noticed between the Harbor of Mines and this place. Of the island called by the savages Manthane. Of the Etechemins River, and several beautiful islands in it. Of Saint Croix Island, and other conspicuous things on this shore..... 73

CHAPTER III

Of the coast, peoples, and River of Norembegue 83

Digitized by Google

CHAPTEI

Discovery of the Quinibequ
on the coast of the Alm
as latitude 42°, and the
voyage. How the men
the time during the win

CHAPTEI

The Choüacoet River. Place
discovered there. Cape
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CHAPTER

Continuation of the discov
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CHAPTER

Discovery from Cape la Hé
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Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

PAGE

Voyages of Sieur de Poutrincourt in New France, where he left his son, Sieur de Biencourt. The Jesuit fathers who were sent there, and their progress in making the Christian faith flourish..... 137

CHAPTER II

Second undertaking of Sieur de Monts. Advice that the author gave him. Obtains commission from the King. His departure. Buildings that the author makes in Quebec. Outcries against Sieur de Monts 161

CHAPTER III

Departure of the author, to go to settle the great River St. Lawrence. Description of the harbor of Tadoussac; of the River Saguenay; of the Isle of Orleans..... 166

CHAPTER IV

Discovery of the Hare Island; of the Island of Coudres, and of the Falls of Montmorency 171

CHAPTER V

Arrival of the author at Quebec, where he made his place of abode. Habits of the savages of that country..... 174

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

CHAPTER VI

Planting of vines at Quebec by the author His kindness to the poor savages.....

CHAPTER VII

Journey from Quebec to the Island of St Eloi, and the meeting that I had with some Algonquin and Ochataiguin savages .....

CHAPTER VIII

Return to Quebec, and then continuation with the savages to the Rapids of the River of the Iroquois .....

CHAPTER IX

Departure from the rapids of the Iroquois River. Description of a large lake. Of the encounter with the enemy that we had at this lake, and of the manner in which they attacked the Iroquois.....

CHAPTER X

Return from the battle, and what happened on the way .....

CHAPTER XI

Defeat of the Iroquois near the mouth of the River Iroquois .....

CHAPTER XII

Description of whaling in New France.....

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XIII

PAGE

Departure of the author from Quebec. Mont Royal and its cliffs. Islands where potter's clay is found. Island of Ste. Hélène. 233

CHAPTER XIV

Two hundred savages return the Frenchman who had been entrusted to them, and take back the savage who had returned from France. Various remarks by the author.. 242

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To

Monseigneur, the most illust
Duke de Richelieu, Head,
and Superintendent-General
merce and Navigation of Fr

MONSEIGNEUR:

These narratives are offe
the one to whom they are cl
only because of your eminen
Church and in the State, as
command of all navigation,
you may be promptly informe
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sumed that it was not with
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as large as France; their situation; the facility with which a safe and important commerce can be carried on there; the great profit to be derived from it; the fact that our Kings have taken possession of a large part of the country; the missions that they have instituted there of various religious orders; their progress in the conversion of a good many savages; [the account of] the clearing of certain tracts of land, by which you will discover that they in no way fall short of the soil of France in fertility; and, finally, the settlements and forts which have been built there in the name of France. The fact that I have been assiduously engaged in the preservation of these beginnings, as well as in a large number of these discoveries, for the last thirty years, both by the authority of our viceroys, and by that of your Grace, will be my excuse, Monseigneur, if you please, for the liberty that I take in offering you this little treatise, feeling confident that it will not be disagreeable to you; not out of consideration for myself, but only out of consideration for the public, who already make your name resound on the shores of every sea throughout the habitable earth, with their acclamations of the results of which the continuation of your glorious deeds gives promise. And since

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your Grace has raised th
height on land, by the pe
established in this Kingdc
and such fortunate victorie
less inclined to call forth a
the peace in the matters
above all, in the re-estal
commerce of France in
countries, as the most assi
has of reviving it under yc
pices. But among these
those of New France are
tending their hands to yo
all France, that, since God
has constituted you a Prin
and, on the other h
you to the pre-eminent
hold, you will not only t
the light of the faith wh
continually, but will also
the possession of this ne
tlements and colonies tl
necessary there; and that
has expressly chosen yc
for the perfection of this
be entirely accomplishe
This is my constant wi
the offer of my remain
shall regard as very h
employed in so glorious

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tion to all my past labors, I may still be honored by the commands that I await from your Grace,

MONSEIGNEUR:

Your very humble and very affectionate servant, CHAMPLAIN.

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The Voya
Sieur de Cl

VOLUME I–

CHAPTE

Extent of New France and soil. Reasons for establish New France of the West. woods, meadows and islands fertility. Its peoples.

THE labors that Sieur endured in discovering lakes, rivers, and islands during the last twenty-se not made him lose courag difficulties that have been e on the contrary, the dange he has met with, instead o redoubled his courage. And reasons in particular have make new voyages there. under the reign of King France should become e

[1] I. e., from 1603 to 1630.
[2] Louis XIII.

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treased by a country of which the extent exceeds sixteen hundred leagues in length and nearly five hundred in breadth; the second, that the richness of the soil and the useful things that can be derived from it, whether for commerce or to make life pleasant in that country, are such that one cannot estimate the advantage that the French would gain from it some day, if the French colonies that may be established there should be protected by the favor and authority of His Majesty.

The new discoveries led to the purpose of establishing colonies, which, though at first of little account, have nevertheless in course of time, by means of commerce, become equal to the states of the greatest kings. One may put in this class several cities that the Spaniards have founded in Peru and other parts of the world within the last hundred and twenty years, which were nothing to begin with. Europe can offer the example of the city of Venice, which was originally a refuge for poor fishermen. Genoa, one of the most superb cities of the world, was built in a region surrounded by mountains, very wild, and so sterile that the inhabitants were obliged to have soil brought from outside to cultivate their garden plots, and their sea is without

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fish. The city of Marseill
was nothing but a great
by rugged hills and mour
in the course of time ma
and has become famous
seat of commerce. Simi
colonies which had the co
and harbors have increase
reputation.

It must be said also th
New France is a new wor
dom; perfectly beautiful
venient locations, both or
great river St. Lawrence
the country) and on otl
ponds and brooks. It ha
number of beautiful islan
tain very pleasant and de
and groves where, durin
the summer, may be seen
birds which come there
season. The soil is very f
of grain; the pasturage
a network of great rivers
are like seas lying across
great facility to all the e
interior, whence one coul
oceans on the west, the e
even on the south.

The country is filled

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forests composed of the same kinds of trees that we have in France. The air is salubrious and the water excellent in the latitudes corresponding to ours. The benefit that can be derived from this country, according to what Sieur de Champlain hopes to demonstrate, is sufficient to make the enterprise worth considering, since this country can supply for the service of the King the same advantages that we have in France, as will appear from the following account.

In New France there are a great many savage peoples; some of whom are sedentary, fond of cultivating the soil, and having cities and villages enclosed with palisades; others are roving tribes which live by hunting and fishing, and have no knowledge of God. But there is hope that the clergy who have been sent there and who are beginning to establish themselves and to found seminaries will be able in a few years to make great progress in the conversion of these peoples. This is the first care of His Majesty, who, turning his eyes toward Heaven rather than toward the earth, will support, if it is his good pleasure, such founders as engage to transport clergy to work at this sacred harvest, and propose to establish a Colony as being the only way of making the name of the true God recog-

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nized, and of establishing the
ligion there: such founders, to
oblige the French who go the
first of all, at tilling the soil,
have the necessaries of life or
without being forced to bring t
France. That done, the country
nish in abundance all that can be
life, whether to satisfy needs or
as will be shown hereafter.

If one cares for hawking, one ca
these places all sorts of birds of pr
great numbers as one could wish:
gerfalcons, sakers, tassels, sparhawk
hawks, marlins, muskets, two kinds
gles, little and big owls, great hornec
of exceptional size, pyes, woodpeckers
there are other kinds of birds of prey
common than those named, with grey
mage on the back and white on the bell
fat and large as a hen, with one foot
the talon of a bird of prey, with whic
catches fish; the other like that of a du
The latter serves for swimming in the v
ter when he dives for fish. This bird is n
supposed to be found except in Ne
France.[8]

[8]The belief that this bird, which was probabl
the bald buzzard or sea eagle, has one foot webbe
is a bit of folk-lore.

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For hunting with setters, there are three kinds of partridges: some are true pheasants, others are black, and still others white. These last come in winter and have flesh like wood-pigeons, of a very excellent flavor.

As for hunting for other game, river birds abound there; all sorts of ducks, teal, white and grey geese, bustards,[4] little geese, woodcock, snipe, little and big larks, plover, herons, cranes, swans, divers of two or three kinds, coots, ospreys, curlews, thrushes, white and grey sea gulls; and on the coasts and shores of the sea, cormorants, sea parrots, sea pyes, and others in infinite numbers which come there in their season.

In the woods and in the country which is inhabited by the Iroquois, a people of New France, there are many wild turkeys, and at Quebec a quantity of turtle-doves throughout the summer; also blackbirds, linnets, sky larks, and other kinds of birds of varied plumage, which in their season sing very sweetly.

After this kind of hunting may be mentioned another not less pleasant and agreeable, but more difficult. There are in this

[4]The brant goose was called *outarde* (bustard) by the early French explorers. On these birds cf. J. P. Baxter, *Jacques Cartier*, 158, n.

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same country, foxes, cor
spotted lynxes, wild cats,
ers, muskrats, otters, sal
rieties of badgers, hare
stags, deer, caribous as l
kids, flying squirrels, an
animals which we do not
They can be caught either
or with a trap, or, if one
on the islands where they
one can kill them easily as
selves in the water wher
noise; or they can be cau
way that the ingenuity of
pleasure in it may suggest

If one is fond of fishin
the line, nets, warrens, w
ventions, there are rivers, l
ponds in as great number
sire, with an abundance
beautiful trout, fine and
kind; sturgeon of three s
good bass, some of whic
pounds. There are carp
some of them are very
some of them five feet long
scales, two or three kinds
white fish a foot long; g
tench, perch, tortoises, se
oil is very good even for f

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poises, and many others that we do not have and that are not found in our rivers and ponds. All these varieties of fish are found in the great river St. Lawrence; besides, cod and whales are caught on the coasts of New France in nearly all seasons.

Thus one can judge of the pleasure that the French will have when once they are settled in these places; living a sweet, quiet life, with perfect freedom to hunt, fish, and make homes for themselves according to their desires; with occupation for the mind in building, clearing the ground, working gardens, planting them, grafting, making nurseries, planting all kinds of grains, roots, vegetables, salad greens and other pot-herbs, over as much land and in as great quantity as they wish. The vines there bear pretty good grapes, even though they are wild. If these are transplanted and cultivated they will yield fruit in abundance. And he who will have thirty acres of cleared land in that country, with the help of a few cattle, and of hunting and fishing, and trading with the savages in conformity to the regulations of the company of New France, will be able to live there with a family of ten as well as those in France who have an income of fifteen or twenty thousand livres.

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CHAPTER

**That Kings and great Princ
more pains to spread the know
God and magnify His glory a
than to multiply their states.
French to the New World since**

THE most illustrious paln
that kings and princes car
world are contempt for temp
and the desire to gain the sp
cannot do this more profitably
verting, through their labor
the catholic, apostolic and Ro
an infinite number of savag
without faith, without law, wi
edge of the true God. For tl
forts, the winning of battles, a
quests of countries, are nothing
son with the reward of those v
for themselves crowns in heave
be fighting against infidels. It
war is not only necessary, but ju
since the safety of Christianity, t
God and the defence of the f
stake. These labors are, in

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praiseworthy and very commendable, besides being in conformity to the commandment of God, which says, *That the conversion of an infidel is of more value than the conquest of a kingdom.*[1] And if all this cannot move us to seek after heavenly blessings at least as passionately as after those of the earth, it is because men's covetousness for this world's blessings is so great that most of them do not care for the conversion of infidels so long as their fortune corresponds to their desires, and everything conforms to their wishes. Moreover, it is this covetousness that has ruined and is wholly ruining the progress and advancement of this enterprise, which is not yet well under way, and is in danger of collapsing, unless His Majesty establishes there conditions as righteous, charitable and just as he is himself; and unless he himself takes pleasure in learning what can be done to increase the glory of God and to benefit his state, repelling the envy of those who should support this enterprise, but who seek its ruin rather than its success.

It is nothing new for the French to make

[1]Possibly a confused and vague recollection of "For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Mark viii, 36.

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sea voyages for conquest
well that the discovery of
noble enterprises on the s
our forefathers.

It was the Bretons and
the year 1504, were the
discover the grand banl
and the islands of the N
noted in the histories of
toine Maginus.[3]

It is also very certain
of King Francis I, in th
sent Verazzano, a Floren
the lands, coasts and harb
the accounts of his voyage
where, after having explor
latitude 33° to latitude 47
thinking of making a hom
an end to his life and his

After that, the same K
suaded by Messire Philip
of France, sent Jacques C

[2]The words of the original
des Moluques." The last
"Morues."

[3]The reference is to Wyt
Ptolemaicæ Augmentum, as tr
by Antoine Magin. Douay,
Pioneers of New France, 190

[4]On Verazzano. See Bour
ica, 143-145.

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new lands, and for this purpose he made two voyages in the years 1534 and 1535. In the first he discovered the Island of Newfoundland and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, with several other islands in this gulf, and he would have gone farther had not the severe season hastened his return. This Jacques Cartier was from the city of St. Malo. He was thoroughly versed and experienced in seamanship; the equal of any one of his times. And St. Malo is under obligation to preserve his memory, for it was his greatest desire to discover new lands. At the request of Charles de Mouy, Sieur de la Mailleres,[5] at that time Vice-Admiral, he undertook the same voyage for the second time; and in order to compass his purpose and to have His Majesty lay the foundation of a colony to increase the honor of God and his royal authority, he[5*] gave his commissions with that of the aforesaid Sieur Admiral, who had the direction of this embarkation and contributed all he could to it. When the commissions had been prepared, His Majesty put this same Cartier in charge, and he set sail with two vessels on May 16, 1535. His voyage was so successful that he arrived at the Gulf of

[5]Meilleraye. L.

[5*]I. e., the Vice-Admiral.

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Saint Lawrence, entered t
ships of 800 tons burden,[6]
far as an island a hund
leagues up the river, which
of Orleans. From there he
leagues farther up the s
winter on a small river w
dry at low tide. This he na
because he arrived there on
Exaltation of the Holy Cros
is now called the St. Charles
present the Recollect fathers a
fathers are stationed there to f
nary for the instruction of you

From there Cartier went u
some sixty leagues, as far as a
was called Ochelaga in his time
called Grand Sault St. Louis.[8]
habited by savages who were sed
cultivated the soil. This they no
because of the wars that have m
withdraw into the interior.

When Cartier, according to his
perceived the difficulty of passing

[6]A copyist's or printer's error. The nar
Cartier's second voyage gives the tonnag
three vessels as 100-120, 60 and 40, resp
—(L.)

[7]September 14.

[8]The modern Lachine Rapids.

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rapids and that it was impossible, he returned where his vessels were; and the weather and the season were so urgent that he was obliged to winter on the St. Croix River, in the place where the Jesuits live now, on the border of another little river which empties into the St. Croix, called the Jacques Cartier River, as his narratives testify.

Cartier was made so unhappy in this voyage, particularly by the ravages of scurvy, of which the larger part of his men died, that when spring came he returned to France, saddened and disturbed enough at this loss and at the little progress that he thought he had made. He came to the conclusion, as a result of his winter's experience with the scurvy, which he called the disease of the country, that the climate was so different from our own that we could not live in it without great difficulty.

So when he had made his report to the King and to the Sieur Admiral and De Mailleres,[8]* who did not go deeply into the matter, the enterprise bore no fruit. But if Cartier could have understood the cause of his sickness, and the beneficial and certain remedy for its prevention, although he and his men did receive some relief from an herb

[8]*I. e., De Meilleraye, the Vice-Admiral.

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called *aneda,*[9] just as we did w
in the same plight, there is n
the King from that time wou
neglected to forward the plan
already done: for at that time
was more peopled with seder
than now. It was this last fact t
Majesty to have this second vo
and the undertaking carried on,
a holy desire to send colonists tl
was what came of it.

This affair might well have be
taken by some others than Car
would not have been so soon dau
would not, on that account, have al
an enterprise so well begun. For, t
truth, those who are the leaders of
tions are oftentimes those who car
end to the execution of a prais
project, if people stop to consider t
ports. For, if they are believed, it is
that the enterprise is impossible or
volved in difficulties that it can
brought to completion without almc
endurable outlay and trouble. This
reason why this enterprise did not a
success. Besides, there are sometim
fairs of so much importance in a state

[9]Apparently a spruce or arbor vitæ. Pa
Pioneers of France, 214.

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cause others to be neglected for awhile; or it may be that those who would gladly have gone on with them, die, and so the years pass with nothing done.

CHAPTER III

Voyage to Florida under the reign of King Charles IX by Jean Ribaut. He has a fort built, called Fort Charles, on the River of May. Albert, the Captain, whom he leaves there, has no provisions, and is killed by the soldiers. They are taken to England by an Englishman. Voyage of Captain Laudonnière. Narrowly escapes being killed by his own men: has four of them hanged. Is pursued by famine. Recompense from the Emperor Charles to those who discovered the Indies. The French driven from the River of May by the Spaniards. They attack Laudonnière. The French killed and hanged with inscriptions.

UNDER the reign of Charles IX and the leadership of Admiral de Chastillon,[1] Jean Ribaut set sail on February 18, 1562, with two ships equipped with all that he needed to found a colony. Passing by the islands of the Gulf of Mexico, he sailed close to the coast of Florida, where he explored a river which he called the River of May.[2] There

[1] Admiral Coligny, who was Lord of Châtillon.
[2] The St. John's.

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he built a fort, to wh
of Charles, leaving in
tain Albert, whom he
he thought necessary.
turned to France on Ju
six months on the voy.

But Captain Albert
ble to have land cleare
to prevent want, and
sions without the syste
in such matters, with
found themselves so sh
was extreme. Thereu
and others in subjection
to obey him, he had o
for a very small matter.
within a few days, a mu
disobedience so great, th
captain and made anot
Barré, their leader. Whe
help was coming from F
little boat to return there
very few provisions. His
their hunger was so cruel
of their companions. Bu
miserable crew and had n
and they were picked up b
who came to their aid a
England, where they revi
how little pains was take

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to the colonists, on account of the war that was going on between France and Spain.

Nevertheless, it was very cruel to let men die of hunger and be reduced to the point of eating one another, to save risking a small vessel at sea, which could bring them relief. This delayed the founding of a colony and foreboded a worse end, since the beginning had been badly conducted in every respect.

Peace was made between France and Spain, which gave leisure to enter upon new plans and expeditions. The same Sieur Admiral de Chastillon had other vessels equipped, under the charge of Captain Laudonnière, who was supplied with everything for his emigrants. He left on April 22, 1564, and reached the coast of Florida in latitude 32°, at the River of May. There he landed all his companions and supplies and had a fort built, which he called Caroline.

While the ships were at this place, conspiracies were formed against Laudonnière, which were discovered. When everything was straightened out, Laudonnière decided to send back his ships to France, and he let Captain Bourdet command them. He set out on the voyage, leaving Laudonnière with his companions, some of whom were

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so rebellious that they
their captain if he did
for plunder in the direc
of the Virgins and Sant
had to give his permissi
They got into a small v
some Spanish ships, a
sailed all about all these
obliged to return to Fo
their arrival, Laudonniè
principal mutineers seize

After these misfortun
were coming to an end,
until May, without any
And when they had be
weeks, to go in searcl
woods, they at last resol
and have it ready by th
to return to France.

The famine, however,
more, and these men be
debilitated that they we
complete their work. Th
for provisions among
treated them badly, ch
more for their provisio
worth, laughing at and
Frenchmen, who endurec
ingly. Laudonnière paci
as he could, but, do wha

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necessary to fight the savages, in order to get something to live on. They were so successful that they got some Indian corn, which gave them courage to finish their ship. That done, they began to pull down and demolish the fort, so as to return to France. While they were engaged in this they descried four sail. At first they feared that they were Spanish, but at last recognized them as English, and they, when they saw that the Frenchmen were in need, aided them with supplies and even fitted up their vessel. This remarkable courtesy was offered by the leader of this expedition, whose name was Jean Hanubins[3] [Hawkins]. When he had assisted them to the best of his ability, he weighed anchor and set sail to carry out the purpose of his voyage.

As Laudonnière was about to set sail with his companions, he sighted some vessels out at sea, and, while he was in suspense as to who they were, it was discovered that it was Captain Ribaut, who had come to bring aid to Laudonnière. The rejoicing on both sides was great, for now they saw the revival of their hope that before had seemed absolutely lost. But they

[3]That Hawkins appears in the text disguised as Hanubins is one of the many indications that Champlain did not see the proofs of his book.

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were very sorry that
pulled down. Ribaut to
several bad reports had
ing him, which he rec
and that, if they had b
have had reason to do
ordered.

It is always the rule
pressed by the slander of
in the end, reveals them
and causes them to be
one. It is well known
this made in the conquest
for Christopher Columl
Ferdinand Cortez and of
unfairly, justified themse
the Emperor.

This is why one shoul
thing thoughtlessly, bef
been thoroughly examir
should always recogni:
worth of the generous c
rifices itself for God,
country, as did these m
to whom the Emperor ac
in spite of envy, and who
wealth and fine, honorab
order to give them cour
order to inspire others tc
the wicked to reform.

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While Laudonnière and Ribaut were consulting about having their provisions unloaded, they sighted, on September 4, 1565, six sails which seemed to be big vessels and which they recognized as Spanish. They dropped anchor in the harbor where Ribaut's four ships were and assured the French of their friendship. Then, seeing that some of the soldiers were on shore, they fired cannon shots at our men, which, since their force was small, obliged them to cut their cable at the hawse-holes and set sail. The Spaniards did the same and pursued them in full force the next day. And as our vessels were better sailers than theirs, they returned to the coast and landed at a river, eight leagues from Fort Caroline, and our ships returned to the River of May. Three of the Spanish vessels, however, came to the harbor and put ashore their infantry, provisions and ammunition.

Captain Ribaut, contrary to the advice of Laudonnière, who explained to him the difficulties that might be incurred, whether from the heavy winds that usually prevailed at that season, or from some other cause, though it was an obstinate act, and he always wanted to have his own way without counsel, which is a very bad thing in such matters, decided to face the Spaniard and

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fight him at whatever cost. V
ject, he had his vessels r
equipped with all that was ne
set sail on September 8. He
very poorly supplied and
pretty sick. The latter did not
courage his soldiers all he co
hort them to fortify themselve
of their ability, so as to resist
their enemy, who were getting
tack Laudonnière on Septem
that time there was a very vi
pour, which continued so long t
who were tired out with wat
doned their task. They thoug
the enemy would not come in
ble storm. Some of them whc
rampart saw the Spaniards
cried: "To arms! To arms!
coming!" At this cry, Lauc
pared to await them, and urg
the fight. They wanted to
breaches that had not yet beer
at last they were overcome an
donnière, seeing that he coulc
any longer, expected to be ki
away, and escaped into the w
savages, where he found a r
diers, whom he rallied with a
trouble. Taking their way

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swamps and marshes, they reached the entrance of the River of May, where there was a ship commanded by a nephew of Captain Ribaut, who had not been able to get any farther than this place, on account of the great storm. The other ships were lost on the coast, as were many soldiers and sailors. Ribaut and many others were captured and cruelly and inhumanly killed; and some of them were hanged with an inscription on their backs, bearing these words: *We have not hanged these men as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans, enemies of the faith.*[4]

Laudonnière, in the face of so many disasters, decided to return to France on September 25, 1565. He weighed anchor, set sail on November 11, and arrived near the coast of England. As he felt ill there, he had them put him ashore to recover his health, and from there he came to France to make his report to the King. The Spaniards, however, fortified themselves in three places to ensure themselves against every event. We shall see, in the next chapter,

[4]This last is not well authenticated. The most recent and most careful study of this clash between the French and the Spaniards in Florida is Woodbury Lowery: *The Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1562-1574.* New York, 1905.

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what punishment God gave
for their injustice and cruel

CHAPTER 1

The King of France feigns to t
a time of the injury that he has r
Spaniards in the cruelty that the
French. Vengeance for it was re
Chevalier de Gourgues. His voy
on the coast of Florida. Is att
Spaniards whom he defeats and tr
the French.

THE King, knowing the inju
sults inflicted on the French, h
by the Spaniards, as I have sai
son to demand reparation and
for them of Charles V,[1] Em
King of Spain, on the ground of
ing been committed in violation of
ise that the Spanish had made not
nor molest them in the preservatio
they had gained with so much t
New France,[1*] in accordance with
missions of the King of France, th

[1]The King of Spain at this time was
[1*]This statement is an error. The Spa
had made no such promise. His attitude
the contrary. Cf. Lowery, *Spanish Set
1562-1574*, pp. 101-119.

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ter, of which the Spaniards were not ignorant. Nevertheless, they had put them to death ignominiously, on the specious pretence that they were Lutherans, as they said, although they were better Catholics than they were, without hypocrisy or superstition, and had been converted to the Christian faith several centuries before the Spaniards.[2]

His Majesty feigned to take no notice of this offence for a while, because the two crowns had some differences to settle first, and principally with the Emperor,[3] which prevented any satisfaction being received for such inhumanities.

But since God never deserts His own and never suffers barbarous treatment shown them to remain unpunished, these Spaniards were paid back in the same coin that they had offered the French. For in the year 1567 appeared the brave Chevalier de Gourgues, who was full of valor and courage, to avenge this insult to the French nation;

[2]Champlain is in error here. The majority of the French were Calvinists, although there were some Catholics among them. See Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 53.

[3]This is not clear, but apparently Champlain means that the Spanish King was particularly slow to make any settlement of their difficulties.

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and, seeing that none
whom France abounde
isfaction for such an i
the enterprise. And, ir
his purpose known be
abroad the rumor that
being prepared for a c
wished to accomplish on
For this purpose a nun
soldiers assembled at Bc
stores of all kinds are s
vided and furnished the
thing that he thought
on this voyage.

He set sail on Augu
year in three ships, and
250 men. Once at sea, l
the coast of Africa, eithe
some other reason. But
for he set sail at once, a
through some trustwor
that he had altered his
other, which was more l
in connection with the c
dangerous, and easier t
where he stopped to r
that what he said was di
of his men, who believe
was ended, and that the
back with nothing accor

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less, they all had a great desire to try some other plan.

Sieur de Gourgues, knowing the wish of his companions, who had not lost courage, and being assured in regard to his crew, found an excuse to assemble his council, whom he told the reason why he could not carry out what he had undertaken. He said that the plan must not be thought of any more, but also that there was not the slightest probability of their returning to France with nothing accomplished. He said that he knew of another undertaking not less glorious than profitable for such brave spirits as he had in his ships, of which the memory would be immortal; that it was one of the most signal exploits that could be undertaken. Each one was consumed with eagerness and desire to see the accomplishment of what he mentioned, and he told them that if he were well supported in this praiseworthy enterprise he would be proud to die in carrying it out. And as they wished Sieur de Gourgues to tell them his plan he got them all together and spoke as follows:

"My companions and faithful friends of my fortune, you are not ignorant of how much I cherish such brave spirits as you. And you have shown this courage sufficiently by the fine resolution that you have made

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to follow and help me in
honorable risk that we sha
go and face, whenever we s
ed by them. And you know
I have in the preservation o
do not wish to involve you in
enterprise that I might know
ruin without honor. It would
reprehensible foolhardiness on
risk your lives in a plan as diffi
which I do not think this is, s
have devoted a good part of my
and many of my friends to e
ships and send them to sea, for
only undertaker of this voyage.
that does not give me so much ca
anxious, as I have to rejoice to see
all are resolved upon another en
which will redound to your glory:
to go to revenge the injury which o
tion received from the Spaniards, w
flicted such a wound upon France tha
will always bleed from the sufferings
infamous treatment that they made
French endure, and the barbarous and
heard-of cruelties which they commit
The resentment that I have sometimes
on account of it has made me shed tears
pity, and has roused my courage so muc
that I have resolved, with the help of Goc

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and your help, to have just revenge for such a crime and such cruelty on the part of the Spaniards, upon these base and cowardly hearts who miserably surprised our fellow-countrymen, whom they had not dared to face with arms in their hands. They are in a bad situation, and we shall take them by surprise easily. I have men on my ships who know the country very well, and we can go there in safety. Here, dear companions, is something to inspire our courage. Show that you are as ready to carry out this good plan as to follow me. Will you not be glad to bear away triumphant laurels from the pillage of our enemies?"

He had no sooner stopped speaking than each of them cried, joyfully: "Let us go whither you will. We could not have a greater pleasure and honor than that which you propose, which is a thousand times more honorable than can be imagined. We much prefer to die in the pursuit of this just vengeance for the insult that was offered to France than to be wounded in another undertaking. The greatest desire of us all is to conquer or to die, in showing you the utmost fidelity. Command what you think best; you have soldiers who have the courage to accomplish what you

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command. We shall
face to face with the

Joy increased as nev
Sieur de Gourgues ha
and fired several cann
rejoicing and to encou
And then this generou
toward the shores of
favored by good weath
he arrived near Fort
the savages of the co
smoke of many fires, u
gues had lowered sail a
He sent on shore to fin
ages what the conditio
was. They were very g
Gourgues intent upon at
stated that they were ab
very well armed, and eq
thing necessary. When
how the Spaniards were
gan to prepare his soldi
Let us see if they will ha
stand by Sieur de Gour
did by Laudonnière, wh
with ammunition and wit

Then Sieur de Gourgu
and some savages lead
heart of the woods, with
the Spaniards, acquainte

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places and the condition in which they were. The Saturday before Low Sunday, in the month of April, 1568, he attacked the two forts violently and prepared to take them by storm, in which he encountered great resistance. And the courage of the French was shown when the battle raged, for they threw themselves headlong into the fight, at times being driven back, and then taking heart to return to the contest with more valor than before. Though severely attacked they defended better. Neither death nor wounds made them turn pale or made them lose either judgment or bravery.

Our noble chevalier, cutlass in hand, inspired them with courage, and, like a bold lion, at the head of his men, reached the top of the rampart, beat back the Spaniards and made his way among them. His soldiers followed him, fought bravely, forced an entrance into the two forts, and killed all whom they encountered; so that all except those who died, or fled, were taken prisoners by the French. Those who expected to escape into the woods were cut to pieces by the savages, who treated them as they had treated our men. Two days afterward Sieur de Gourgues took possession of the large fort, which the enemy had abandoned after some resistance, some of their

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number having been killed and
tured.

As he continued victorious an
to the end of so glorious an t
remembering the insult that th
had done the French, he had so
hanged, with inscriptions on the
ing these words: "I have not ha
hanged as Spaniards, but as p
bers, and sea rovers." After thi
he had the forts torn down and
then set sail to return to France
the hearts of the savages an eve
gret at being deprived of so hig
captain. His departure was c
1568, and he reached Rochelle
From there he went to Borde
he was received with as much
enthusiasm as ever a captain wa

But no sooner had he arrivec
than the Emperor sent to the I
mand justice for his subjects, v
de Gourgues had hanged in th
dies. His Majesty was so ange
that he threatened to have Sieu
gues beheaded, and he was ob
away for some time until the K
should pass off. Thus this nobl
redeemed the honor of the Fre
which the Spaniards had offen

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would have been an eternal regret to France if it had not revenged the outrage received from the Spanish nation. It was the noble undertaking of a gentleman, who carried it out at his own cost and expense, solely for honor, without other hope. He achieved it gloriously, and this glory is more to be esteemed than all the treasures of the world.[4]

We have observed the great defects and failures in the voyages of Ribaut and Laudonnière. Ribaut was blamed in his for not carrying provisions for more than ten months, and not ordering land cleared and prepared for tilling, in order to be provided against the scarcity which might occur and the dangers that ships encounter at sea, or indeed their failure to arrive in time to relieve want. It at last reduced those who took part in the undertaking to the greatest extremity, even to the point of killing one another, to keep alive on human flesh, as they did on this voyage, which caused the soldiers to rebel greatly against their chief.

[4]Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 171, remarks, in regard to the account of de Gourgues' exploit: "It must be admitted that there is a strong savor of romance in the French narrative." See also Lowery, *Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574*, 316-336.

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So disorder and disobedience w
among them. At last they were
though with incredible regret anc
considerable loss of men and pro
abandon the land and possessions t
had acquired in this country; and
for the lack of having made their pl
judgment and reason.

Experience shows that in such
and expeditions the kings and pri
the members of their council who
dertaken them had too little know
carrying out their plans. It sho
there have been men of experienc
matters, they have been few; for
have tried these undertakings on t
reports of some tricksters, who,
give themselves importance, pr
be very knowing in such matters
they were very ignorant. For, i
begin and complete these enter
honor and profit, one must spend
in sea voyages and be experien
discoveries.

The greatest mistake that I
made, when he went with the
spending the winter, was to p
self with so few provisions,
ought to have been governed b
ple of Captain Albert's winte

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Charles, whom Ribaut left so ill-supplied with everything. These omissions ordinarily occur in such undertakings, because it is supposed that those countries yield without being planted. Besides, such voyages are undertaken unreasonably, without practical knowledge or experience. It is one thing to make such plans in table talk, drawing on the imagination for the situation of places, the customs of the people who inhabit them, the profit and benefit that may be derived from them. It is a very different matter to send men across seas to distant countries, to traverse unknown shores and islands, from what it is to form such idle fancies in the mind, making ideal and imaginary voyages and navigations. That is not the way to carry out with honor the work of discovery. First, it is necessary to consider maturely the questions which arise in such matters; to communicate with those who have acquired a great deal of knowledge of them, who know the difficulties and the dangers which they offer, instead of setting out so thoughtlessly on the strength of simple report and talk. For it is of little use to discourse upon distant countries, and go to live in them, without having first explored them, and having lived in them at least a whole year, in or-

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der to understand the character
tries, and the variety of seas
sake of founding a colony the
Most of the undertakers of col
plorers do not do this, but
merely to see the shores and
ing, without stopping there.

Others undertake such voy
strength of simple reports mac
who, although they are very
the affairs of the world, and h
and considerable experience,
are ignorant in these matters, t
everything follows the rule t
the latitude where they are.
find themselves very much m
there are such strange chang
that it is only by seeing them
believe in their reality. The rea
are extremely varied and ver
and therefore I shall pass ther
lence. I have said this in pass
that those who come after us a
new plans may avail themsel
points and consider them, so th
set sail thither, the ruin and l
may serve as an example and a
ticeship.

The third fault, and the m
of Ribaut's was in not having

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and ammunition that he had brought for Laudonnière and his companions unloaded before exposing himself to the danger of losing everything, as he did, since he did not go there to fight the enemy, but to be always on the defensive, to assist Laudonnière with his men, to fortify himself, and to hold his own against those who should attack him. He could have seen clearly that, since it was the purpose of the enemy to take the fort, he needed to be stronger than those who guarded it, if he were not to expose himself thoughtlessly to danger and to chance. He would have done better to take account of the forces of the enemy before attacking them and being sure of victory. But, on the contrary, as a result of despising the advice of Laudonnière, who was more experienced than he in knowledge of the places, very great evil befell him.

Furthermore, in such undertakings, the ships that carry the provisions and the military stores for a colony should take as direct a course as possible, without turning aside to give chase to any other vessel, since, if they found it necessary to fight and should lose, this misfortune would not be confined to themselves, but they would put the colony in danger of being lost. In that

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case, the men would be obliged
everything, and see themselves
suffer a miserable death from
that would attack them when th
were gone, on account of not be
and provisioned for at least two
waiting for the land to be clea
to support those who are in
These are great mistakes, like
more recent undertakers who
any land cleared, or find any
ing so, in the twenty-two
which the country has been
they had no thought beyond
from furs. The day will cor
will lose all that we possess t
easy to see, if the King doe
a good system there.

These are the greatest defe
observed in the first voyages,
followed have scarcely been

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CHAPTER V

The voyage that Sieur de Roberval despatched. Sends Alphonse of Saintonge to Labrador. His departure. His arrival. Return on account of the ice. The voyages of foreigners to the North, to go to the West (?) Indies.[1] Voyage of the Marquis de la Roche without result. His death. Noticeable defect in his undertaking.

In the year 1541 Sieur de Roberval, who had renewed this holy undertaking, sent Alphonse, of Saintonge (one of the best navigators of his time in France), who wished, by his discoveries, to find a more northern passage toward Labrador. He had two good ships equipped with all that he needed for this discovery, and took his departure in this year, 1541.[2] And after having sailed along the northern coasts, and the lands of Labrador, in search of a passage that would facilitate commerce with the people of the East, by a shorter way than that around the Cape of Good Hope, or by the Straits of Magellan, owing to chance

[1]It should be East Indies.

[2]Roberval despatched Cartier in 1541 and went himself with Alphonse in 1542. See Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, 216-228.

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obstacles, and the risk th
the ice, he was obliged to
had no more to pride himse
tier.

This second enterprise w
purpose of discovering a p
other[3] was to explore the in
habit it, if possible. Thus t
ages did not succeed. As fo
I shall not describe in detail
of foreign nations to find a p
north, to go to the East Indies
years 1576, 1577 and 1578, Mr.
bichet[4] made three voyages;
years afterward,[5] Humphrey
there with five ships. He was l
Island and lived there two ye
ward John Davis, an English
three voyages;[7] got as far as l
and passed by a strait that bear
now. Another man, named Captai
made this voyage in the year 15
account of the ice was obliged

[3]Roberval's voyage of 1542.

[4]Frobisher.

[5]I. e., 1583.

[6]Gilbert's largest ship, the Delight, wa
on Sable Island, but he was lost on his
the Squirrel.

[7]1585, 1586, 1587.

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without accomplishing anything.[8] Several others who have undertaken it have had a similar fortune.

As for the Spaniards and Portuguese, they have wasted their time there. The Dutch fared no better in searching for such a passage toward the East by way of Nova Zembla than the others who lost so much time in looking for it in the West, beyond the lands called Labrador.

All this is only to show how much honor, if this passage, which was so greatly desired, had been found, would have come to him who lighted upon it; and how much advantage to the state or realm which would have possessed it. Since, then, it is our own opinion that this enterprise is of such value, it should not be despised now, and that which cannot be done in one place can be accomplished in another, in time, provided His Majesty be pleased to assist the undertakers of so praiseworthy a project. I will leave this discourse to return to our new conquerors in the country of New France.

Sieur Marquis de la Roche, of Brittany,

[8]Apparently this Captain Georges should be Captain George Weymouth. If so, the voyage was in 1602. There was no Arctic voyage in 1590 that is recorded.

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incited by a holy desire t
ard of Jesus Christ, and s
his King, took a commi
1598, from King Henr
happy memory), who fel
the plan. Sieur de la R
ships fitted out, with a nu
a full equipment of thin
such a voyage. But as he
of the places, except throu
Chédotel,[9] from Normand
men on Sable Island, 2
south of the land of Cap
the men, who stayed in thi
few conveniences, were
years with no help but th
were obliged to live in the
for there was neither w
this island suitable for bu
wreckage and broken piec
came to the coast of the is
on nothing but the flesh o
which animals they foun
quantity, for they had esca
ish ship which was lost
habit the Island of Cap
dressed in the skins of sea
worn out their clothes, s

[9]Also written Chefdostel an
[10]Five years, 1598-1603.

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their use. They also relied upon catching fish, which is plentiful about that island. They stayed there until the parliament of Rouen ordered the before-mentioned Chédotel to go to rescue these poor wretches, with the understanding that he should have half of the commodities that they had been able to collect during their sojourn in this island, such as hides, seal-skins, oil, and black foxes. This was done. Returning to France at the end of seven years, some of them went to see His Majesty in Paris, who commanded the Duke of Sully to supply their needs. He did so, to the amount of 50 crowns, to encourage them to go back. The Marquis de la Roche, meanwhile, who was trying, in court, to get the things that His Majesty had promised him for his project, was denied them at the request of certain persons who did not wish the true religion of God to grow, or to see the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion flourish there. This caused him so much displeasure that, on that account and for other reasons, he was attacked by a severe sickness, which carried him off. He had given all his property and labor without experiencing any result.

In this plan of his two defects may be noted: one, that this Marquis did not have

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some one experienced in such
plore and reconnoitre where h
tle, before assuming so exces
lay; the other, that envious
were near the King in his co
time interfered with the accor
the project and the good inten
Majesty had of conferring t
him. Thus kings are often
those in whom they have con
history of the past sufficiently i
fact, and this instance can fu
example of it. This is the end
voyage. We come to the fift

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CHAPTER VI

Voyage of Sieur de Saint Chauvin. His plan. Remonstrances made with him by Pont Gravé. Sieur de Monts goes with him. Return of St. Chauvin and Du Pont to France. Second voyage of Chauvin: his plan.

A YEAR afterward, in 1599, Sieur Chauvin of Normandy, Captain in the King's Navy, a man of great skill and experienced in navigation (who had served His Majesty in past wars, although he belonged to the religion pretending to be reformed[1]), undertook this voyage under the commission of His Majesty, at the request of Sieur du Pont Gravé, of St. Malo, a man expert in sea voyages, for he had made many of them. He was accompanied by other ships as far as Tadoussac, ninety leagues up the river; a place where they traded for fur and beaver with the savages of the country,

[1] I. e., the Protestant religion. The French Calvinists, or Huguenots, called their faith the reformed religion, and they were called the "reformed," in distinction from the followers of Luther. Catholic writers commonly prefixed "pretendue" to the word "reformée"—e. g., "la religion pretendue reformée."

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who came there every s
Pont, desiring to find mea
traffic, went to court, to s
authority and special in
King, for the purpose of
mission to the effect that
river should be forbidden
without the permission an
who should be provided
commission, on condition
settle in the country, and
there. This was a good
one which would not cost
thing if what was in t
should be carried out. It
take five hundred men ther
country and defend it. The
confidence in this undertak
theless, did not expect to g
expense than he could help;
pretext of making a settlem
rying out what he had prom
to deprive all the subjects
trade there, and to keep the
self alone. And to give t
good start he began his pre
ships were equipped with s
as he thought suitable for
Many artisans set out and
selves at Honfleur, the pla

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tion. When his ships were out at sea he made this same Pont Gravé his lieutenant of one of them. But, since the head was of the opposing religion, this was not the way to establish the faith among those people whom they wished to subjugate. This was what was least considered. They went to the harbor of Tadoussac, the trading-place, and the affair was rather badly managed for making great progress. They decided to build a habitation there: the most disagreeable and barren place in this country, covered with nothing but pines, firs, birches, mountains and almost inaccessible cliffs, the soil very ill-fitted for any profitable cultivation, and the cold so extreme that if there is an ounce of cold forty leagues up the river there is a pound at Tadoussac. And how many times have I been astonished to see these places so frightful in the spring!

Now, when this Sieur Chauvin wished to build there, and to leave some men, and to protect them against the severe cold, although he had learned from Pont Gravé that it was not his opinion that they should build there, Pont Gravé urged Sieur Chauvin several times to go up this river, where it is better for building, for he had been on another voyage as far as the three riv-

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ers, in search of the
trade with them.

Sieur de Monts tool
pleasure, with Sieur C
the same opinion as C
that this place was
would have been very
was farther up the
was the reason, whet
did not permit then,
considerations in the
taker, he employed
build a villa, twenty
eighteen wide and eig
covered with boards,
the middle, and was
a guardhouse, and w
hurdles (which I ha
a small ditch dug in
that country, where
it is all very poor san
tle brook below, whe
men provided with a fe
they could harbor in
The little that they ha
posal of all, and so i
Behold them there ver
ter! Having done this
vin returned, not carin
further. Pont Gravé d

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While they were in France our winterers consumed, in a short time, the little that they had, and when winter came upon them they were well aware of the difference between France and Tadoussac. It was the court of King Pétaud; each one wished to command. Laziness and idleness, with the diseases that attacked them, reduced them to great want, and obliged them to give themselves up to the savages, who kindly harbored them, and they left their lodging. Some died miserably; others suffered a great deal while waiting for the return of the ships.

Sieur Chauvin, seeing his men filling their lungs with the air of the Saguenay, which was very dangerous, arranged to make a second voyage, which was as fruitful as the first. He wanted to make another better planned, but he did not keep at it long before he was seized with a malady that sent him to another world.

The trouble with this undertaking was giving to a man of opposing religion a commission to establish a nursery for the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith, of which the heretics have such a horror and abomination. These are the defects that must be mentioned in regard to this enterprise.

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CHAPTER

Fourth undertaking in New mander de Chaste. Sieur du for the voyage to Tadoussac. takes the voyage. Their arriva St. Louis. Their difficulty in p treat. Death of this command the sixth voyage.[1]

THE fourth undertaking Commander de Chaste, Go who was a very honorat Catholic, and a great serv He had served His Maje faithfully on many impc And though his head boi grey hairs, as well as o wished to hand down to praiseworthy undertaking opinion of the design, anc go there himself, to spen years in the service of God by making a home there; v

[1]The original has here the A This is inconsistent with the summary and with the conclu Through some inadvertence, p up by the printer instead of "

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of living and dying there gloriously, as he hoped, if God had not taken him from this world sooner than he expected. One may be very sure that under his management heresy never would have been implanted in the Indies; for he had very Christian plans, of which I could show good proof, as he did me the honor to communicate somewhat of them to me.

After the death of Chauvin, then, he obtained a new commission from His Majesty. Inasmuch as the expense was very great, he formed a company with several gentlemen and principal merchants of Rouen, and of other places, upon certain conditions. When this was done, they had ships equipped, not only for the carrying out of this undertaking, but for discovering and peopling the country. Pont Gravé, with His Majesty's commission (as one who had already made the voyage and knew the difficulties of the passage), was chosen to go to Tadoussac, and promised to go as far as Sault St. Louis,[2] explore it, and go farther, in order to make a report on his return, and direct a second expedition. And the Sieur Commander left his position as Governor, with

[2]The Lachine Rapids, just above Montreal. Hereafter, in the text, it will be translated the St. Louis Rapids.

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the permission of His Maj
him specially, to go to the c
France.

At this time I arrived at
just returned from the West
I had been nearly two yea
after the Spaniards had left
peace was made with France.
ing the wars, I had served His
der Marshal d'Aumont, de Sa
Marshal de Brissac. As I went
Commander de Chaste from t
thinking that I could serve him
pose, he did me the favor, as
to tell me something about it,
me if I would like to go on the
see the country, and what the u
were doing there. I told him t
his servant; that as for allowing
liberty to go on this voyage I
do that without the command of H
ty, to whom I was under obligat
only from my birth, but by rea
pension with which he honored me
I might have means to support m

[1]Now Port Louis in the department o
han. The Spaniards surrendered Blavet
1598. Champlain's narrative of his voyag
West Indies may be read in English in the
published by the Hakluyt Society in 1859.

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court; and that if he wished to speak to him about it, and the King should command me to go, I should find it very agreeable. This he promised me, and he did so, and he received word from His Majesty for me to make this voyage, and to bring him a faithful report of it. To this end, Monsieur de Gesvre, his executive secretary, sent me with a letter addressed to Pont Gravé, telling him to receive me into his ship, and have me see and become acquainted with all I could in these places, and to aid me himself, so far as was possible in this enterprise.

Thus despatched, I left Paris, and sailed in Du Pont's ship in the year 1603. We had a good voyage as far as Tadoussac, with medium-sized barks of from 12 to 15 tons burden, and went a league up the great St. Louis Rapids. Pont Gravé and I got into a very light little boat, with five sailors, so as not to have to navigate a larger one, because of the difficulties. When we had gone a league in a sort of lake with a great deal of trouble, on account of the little water that we found in it, and had reached the foot of the rapids, which empties into this lake, we decided that it would be impossible to go farther with our skiff; for it was so raging and in-

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terspersed with rocks th
selves obliged to go almo
to see the upper part of t
could not see any more
could do was to note th
whole country; the leng
the reports of savages
in the land; their accoun
the places; the sources of
ers, especially of the great
rence.

Then I wrote a short acc
an exact map of all that
observed, and so we returne
having made but little prog
sels were there trading wit
and when this was done we
ting sail, and went back to F
we learned the news of the
Commander de Chaste, whic

[4]Champlain's account of the voy
published in Paris in 1603 under
*Sauvages, ou Voyage de Samuel
Brouage, faict en la France No
six cens trois.* It was translated i
Purchas and published in *Purchas*
London: 1625, vol. vi, pp. 1605-1619
is reprinted in the present editio
151-229. This narrative was newly
Professor Otis for the Prince Soc
Champlain's Voyages. See vol. i

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affliction to me, for I perceived that it would be difficult for any one else to undertake this voyage without being thwarted, unless he were a Seigneur whose authority had the power to overcome envy.

I scarcely paused at Honfleur, but went on to His Majesty, to whom I showed the map[5] of this country, with the very careful account that I had written of it. He was much pleased with it, promising not to give up the project, but to have it continued, and to favor it. Thus, the fifth voyage was broken up by the death of this Commander.

I have not noted any defect in this undertaking, as far as the beginning of it was concerned. But I know that immediately several French merchants who had an interest in this business began to complain that the fur trade was closed to them for the purpose of giving it to one man.

[5]This map is no longer extant.

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CHAPTI

Voyage of Sieur de Mc
the plan of the late Com
tains a commission from
coveries farther south. 1
the merchants of Rouen
thor goes with him. They
discover several harbors ar
trincourt goes with Sieur
of this Sieur de Monts. H

AFTER the death of Si
de Chaste, Sieur de Mor
the so-called reformed r
in-ordinary of the Kin
Governor of Pons, wh
service to the King in al
whom the King had gr
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as I have said, with Sieur
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had made him lose the de
great River St. Lawren

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nothing on this voyage but a rugged country. This made him wish to go farther south, to enjoy a softer and more pleasant air. And, not pausing at the accounts of it that had been given to him, he wished to look for a place of which he knew neither the situation nor the temperature, except through the imagination and the reason, which concludes that the nearer the south the warmer the climate. Desiring to carry out this noble undertaking, he got a commission from the King, in the year 1603,[1] to people and inhabit the country, on condition of implanting there the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith, letting each one live according to his religion.[2] That being granted, he continued the company with the merchants of Rouen, Rochelle, and

[1]The text has 1623, an obvious misprint. The patent is dated Nov. 8, 1603. It is printed in Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, book iv, ch. 1. It is accessible in English in Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, I, 21-24.

[2]This last clause must refer to the practice of De Monts. There is nothing about religious toleration in the charter. This charter, which made De Monts the King's Lieutenant-General, or Viceroy, in 1603 over the region between the 40th and 46th parallels, i. e., from Philadelphia to Cape Breton, should be compared with the earlier English proprietary grants. In less than three years after

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other places, to whom the fur tra
granted by this commission, to the
sion of all the other subjects of His
ty. When everything was arranged,
de Monts set sail at Havre de Grac
had several ships equipped, not only f
fur trade of Tadoussac, but for that
shores of New France. He got toge
number of gentlemen, and all sorts of
sans, soldiers and others, as many o
religion as of another, priests and n
ters.

Sieur de Monts asked me if I would
to make the voyage with him. The d
that I had had on the last voyage hac
creased, and led me to agree to go, with
permission that the King should give
which would allow me to go, with the
derstanding that I should make a faitl
report to him of all that I saw and disc
ered. When we all were at Dieppe, we
sail. One ship went to Tadoussac; t
of Pont Gravé with the commission
Sieur de Monts, to Canseau, and along t
coast toward the Island of Cape Breton,
see those who were violating the regulatio

Henry IV's grant to De Monts, James I grant five-sixths of this same region to the Virgi Company, April 10-20, 1606, absolutely ignori any French claims and King Henry's patent.

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of His Majesty. Sieur de Monts took a lower course toward the shores of Acadie,[3] and the weather was so favorable for us that we were only a month in getting as far as Cape de la Héve.[4] When we arrived there we went on farther to look for a place to settle in, as we did not find this one pleasant. Sieur de Monts delegated me to search for some suitable place, which I did with a certain pilot whom I took with me. We discovered several harbors and rivers, when Sieur de Monts stopped at an island named St. Croix,[5] of which he thought the site strong, the soil round about very good; the temperature (in latitude 45°) mild. He had his ships come there, and employed each man, according to his station and trade, either to unload them, or to prepare a lodging promptly When the ships were unloaded he sent them back as speedily as possible, and Sieur de Poutrincourt[6] (who had come with Sieur de Monts to see the country, with the idea of inhabit-

[3]Acadie later meant Nova Scotia. Here it means the coast region granted to De Monts between the 40th and 46th parallels.

[4]Cape La Have on modern maps; about fifty miles southwest of Halifax.

[5]Dochet Island, in the St. Croix River.

[6]This name is spelled Poitrincourt in the text, but the accepted form, Poutrincourt, will be used.

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ing it, and of securi
place from him, in p
mission) returned wi

But we will let hi
we shall overcome the
who wintered at T
ships had returned to
infinite number of cor
tons, the Basques, a
usage and bad treatm
on our shores, from
de Monts, who seized
from fishing and dep
of things which had
them; so that if the
duce some regulatio
gation would be lost,
would, in this way, b
women and children
and miserable and be
living. Petitions wer
to this, but the envy
cease. There was no
sons who promised
money, Sieur de Mor
be annulled. The af
that Sieur de Monts
prevent the estrange
ward him, by certai
who had promised

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three hundred men in this country. So, in a short time, His Majesty's commission was revoked at the price of a certain sum that a certain personage received, without His Majesty's knowing anything about it.[7] Such was the recompense for the three years that Sieur de Monts had spent, with an outlay of more than 100,000 livres.[8] In the first of these three years he suffered a great deal and endured great distress on account of the severe cold and the long duration of snow three feet deep, for five months; although at any time one could reach the shores, where the sea does not freeze, except at the mouth of rivers, which are clogged with ice making its way to the sea. Besides, almost half of his men died from the disease of the country,[9] and he was obliged to send the remainder of his men back with Sieur de Poutrincourt, who was his lieutenant that year, Pont Gravé having been it the year before.

[7]The King's minister, Sully, revoked the patent in July, 1607. For fuller details see H. F. Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France,* 63-64.

[8]The livre, at this time, contained about as much silver as two francs, and its purchasing value was equal, approximately, to about six francs to-day, or $1.20. Perkins, *France Under Richelieu and Mazarin,* II, 371.

[9]Scurvy.

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These are the pla
which were broken t
farther south to m
should be healthier a
and of St. Croix, w
winter. Since that t
been at Port Royal,[1]
better, because they
ter so harsh in latitud
these losses, 6000 livr
him by the Council c
taken from the ships
trade for furs.

But to what expens
to be put in all the
collect this sum, to finc
and the right proportio
eighty ships which fr
It was giving him an
tating an expense in e
as he well perceived.
got almost nothing c
obliged to let this dec
This was how these m
by His Majesty's Co
those whom He has
those who are living!
ther enterprise could
everything is revoked

[10]Annapolis Basin, Nova

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judging maturely of things, before any results can be forthcoming? Those who have the least knowledge make the most complaint and wish to be thought to know more than those who have full experience; and they speak only from envy, or for their own interest, on false reports and appearances, without informing themselves further.

There is something to find fault with in this undertaking: namely, two opposing religions never produce great results for the glory of God among the infidels, whom one wishes to convert. I have seen the minister and our curé come to blows in a religious quarrel. I do not know which was the more courageous, or which gave the better blow, but I know very well that the minister complained sometimes to Sieur de Monts of having been beaten, and they ended the controversy in this way. I will leave you to judge if it was a pleasant sight; the savages were sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and the French mixed in according to their respective beliefs, and reviled first one and then the other religion, although Sieur de Monts made peace as much as he could. These insults were really a means to the infidel of making him still more hardened in his infidelity.

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Now, since Sieur
to go to live on th
he ought to have se
a place suitable for t
ony, which would n
doned like that of
Royal, where no on
he ought to have e
five thousand livres,
place, and even to ha
a winter there, in or
with the climate. I
there is no doubt at
the warmth such as w
in a good climate, w
settlers to stay there.
Monts's commission h
would not have given
try within three year
done in Acadie, but e
have been cleared to
commodities to Fran
had been well manag
should have adapted
ation, and the Engli
would not have got
that they took from
settled to our loss.[11]

It will not be out o

[11]Champlain refers to t

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curious reader, and especially those who make sea voyages, with a description of the discoveries of these coasts during three years and a half while I was in Acadie, both at the settlement at St. Croix, and at Port Royal, when I had opportunity to see and discover everything, as will be seen in the following book.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

Description of la Héve. Of Port Mouton. Of Cape Negro. Of the Cape Sable and Sable Bay. Of Cormorant Island. Of Cape Fourchu. Of Long Island. Of Bay Saint Mary. Of Port Saint Margaret, and of all the remarkable things that there are along the coast of Acadie.

CAPE LA HÉVE[1] is a place where there is a bay containing several islands covered with firs, and a great tract of oaks, young elms and birches. It is on the coast of Acadie, in latitude 44° 5′, and the declina-

New England and to the Dutch occupation of New Netherland.

[1]Cape La Have, some twenty miles west of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.

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tion of the compass
leagues northeast of Ca

Seven leagues from t
called Port Mouton[2], w
rivers in latitude 44 deg
utes, where the soil is ve
with undergrowth and l
a great many rabbits th
good deal of game, bec
which are there.

Going along the coas
good harbor for vessels,
a little river, which goes
land. I named it the ha
gro,[3] because of a rock w
tance, resembles one. It r
ter near a cape where w
day, which is four leagu
ten leagues from Port

[1]*Before the invention of t*
exact determination of longit
Champlain adopted the metho
cation by giving the latitude
declination of the needle from
was supposed that in this way
be determined approximately
planation of his system and h
ing his maps will be found in
plain, Prince Society edition,
Laverdière, *Voyages, 1613,* p.

[2]The name is still in use.

[3]Negro Harbour.

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cape is very dangerous, on account of the rocks which project into the sea. The coasts that I saw up to that point are all low, covered with the same wood as that at Cape la Héve, and the islands are all full of game. Going along farther we passed the night at Sable Bay, where the ships can anchor, without any fear of danger.

Cape Sable, two good leagues from Sable Bay, is also very dangerous, on account of certain rocks and reefs that extend almost a league into the sea. From there one goes to Cormorant Island, which is a league from it, so named because of the infinite number of these birds that are on it; and we filled a large barrel with their eggs. From this island, going west about six miles, crossing a bay which runs up two or three leagues to the north, one comes upon several islands that project two or three leagues into the sea, of which the area of some is perhaps two, of others three leagues, and of others less, as far as I could judge. Most of them are very dangerous to approach in large vessels, on account of the high tides and the rocks which are on a level with the water. These islands are covered with pine trees, firs, birches and aspens. A little farther on there are four more.

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On one of them there ar
birds called penguins tha
kill them with a stick. C
are sea wolves.[4] On two
such a quantity of birds of
ties that one who had not s
not imagine them, such
ducks of three kinds, gee
bustards, sea parrots, snipe,
other birds of prey; sea gu
two or three species; herons, l
curlews, sea pyes, divers, os
crows, cranes, and other kinds
their nests there. I named th
ands.[6] They are in latitude
from the mainland, or Cape S
five leagues. From there we we
that I called Forked Harbor,[7]
was its shape, distant from the S

[4]Seals. Commonly called sea wolves
navigators. Slafter. *Loup marin* wil
be rendered "seals" in this translatio

[5]This word is not given in the dict
many cases the identification of anima
and plants mentioned by the early e
very difficult and requires the expert
of the naturalist. American fauna and
generally given the names of those
fauna and flora which they most resem

[6]The name is still in use.

[7]Port Fourchu. The name survives
Fourchu. It is just west of Yarmouth.

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of seals from five to six leagues. This harbor is very good for ships at the entrance, but inside it is almost entirely dry at low tide, except the channel of a little river, all surrounded by meadows which make this place rather pleasant. Cod fishing is good there near the harbor. We went north ten or twelve leagues without finding any harbor for our ships, only a number of coves, or very fine beaches, where the land seemed suitable for cultivation. The woods there are very beautiful, but they contain very few pines and firs. This coast is very safe, without islands, rocks, or shallows; so that, in my judgment, ships can go there with confidence. A quarter of a league from the coast I came to an island, which is called Long Island, lying north northeast and south southwest, which makes a passage to the Great French Bay,[8] so named by De Monts.

This island is six leagues long, and in some places nearly one league wide, and in other places only a quarter of a league. It is covered with a quantity of wood, such as pines and birches. The whole coast is bordered with very dangerous rocks, and there is no place suitable for ships, except that at the end of the island there are several refuges for shallops, and two or three

[8]The Bay of Fundy.

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rocky islands, where t
The tides run very hi
at the little passage o
very dangerous for v
going through it.

Going northeast t
passage of Long Isla
where ships can anch
quarter of a league ir
bottom is nothing but
surrounding it is all
high rocks. In this pl
report of a miner, ca
who was with me, ther
ver mine.[9] Some leagu
little river, called the
tide comes half a leagu
trance of which one ca
of a hundred tons burd
league from this place
bor for vessels where
mine, which the miner
per cent. Sailing thre
the northeast, one com
ther good iron mine, n
river surrounded by fi
ows. The soil round
blood. Some leagues fa

[9]Little River on Digby N
[10]Sandy Cove.

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another river which is dry at low tide, except its channel, which is very small.[11] This runs near Port Royal. At the upper end of this bay there is a channel which is also dry at low tide. About it are a number of fields and good lands to cultivate, although covered with a quantity of beautiful trees of all kinds, as I have said above. This bay, from Long Island to the upper end, may extend about six leagues. All the coast of the mines is rather high ground, intersected by capes, which appear round and project a little into the sea. On the other side of the bay, to the southeast, the land is low and good, and there is a very good harbor, and at its entrance a bar over which one must go, where, at low tide, the water is a fathom and a half deep. When one has passed this he finds three fathoms and a good bottom. Between the two points of the harbor there is a pebbly island which is covered at high tide. This place extends half a league into the land. The tide there goes down three fathoms, and there are quantities of shellfish there, such as mussels, snails and cockles. The soil is the best that I have seen. I called this harbor the

[11] "South Creek, or Smelt River, which rises near Annapolis Basin, or the Port Royal Basin of the French." Slafter.

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harbor of Saint Margar
east coast is much lowe
the mines, which are o
half from the coast of P
the width of the bay, wh
at its entrance. I meas
this place, and I found
45½° and a little more,
of the needle was 17°
named Saint Mary Bay.

CHAPTE

Description of Port Roya
Of High Island. Of the Ha
Great French Bay. Of the
what we have noticed be
Mines and this place. Of t
savages Manthane. Of the
several beautiful islands i
Island, and other conspi
shore.

PASSING[1] Long Islan
leagues to the northea
cove where ships can c

[12]Weymouth Harbour.

[1]This chapter begins ano
the narrative is taken up
reached in the earlier expl
mediate events see *Voyage*
Society edition, II. 18-21.

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6 and 7 fathoms of water. The bottom is sand. This place serves only as a roadstead. Continuing two leagues in the same direction we enter one of the most beautiful harbors in this whole coast, where a great number of ships could go in safety. The mouth is 800 paces wide and 25 fathoms deep; it is two leagues long and one league wide. I named it Port Royal.[2] Three rivers empty into it, one of which is rather large. It comes from the east, and is called the River *Esquille,* the name of a little fish the size of a smelt which it yields in great quantity. Herring are also caught there, and other kinds of fish of which there is an abundance in their season. This river is almost a quarter of a league wide at the mouth, where there is an island, perhaps half a league in circumference, covered with wood, like all the rest of the land, such as pines, firs, spruces, birches, aspens, and some oaks, though comparatively few. This river has two mouths, one on the north shore, the other on the south of the island. That on the north is the better. There ships can drop anchor in the shelter of the island in 5, 6, 7 and 8 fathoms of water. But one must guard against certain shallows near the island and the mainland, which

[2]Annapolis Basin.

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are very dangerous if one do
the channel.

I went 14 or 15 leagues u
where the tide rises, and it is
ble much farther inland. At
is 60 paces wide and about 1½ f
The land about this river is c
a great number of oak, ash and
Between the mouth of the r
place where we were, there are
ows, but they are flooded by t
They are crossed by many litt
which shallops and boats can g
ter. Within the harbor there
and, nearly two leagues away
where there is another little
runs a good way inland. I n
the River St. Anthony.[3] Its r
four leagues across the wood
of Saint Mary Bay. As for t
it is only a brook filled wit
one could not ascend in any
for lack of water.[4] This pla
45°, and the declination o
17° 8′.

Leaving Port Royal and
leagues to the northeast of

[3]Bear River.

[4]Sometimes called Moose Ri
Deep Brook. Slafter.

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the coast of Port Royal, I crossed a part of the bay, some 5 or 6 leagues, to a place that I named the Cape of Two Bays,[5] and passed by an island which is one league from it and is also one league in circumference. It rises some 40 or 45 fathoms in height and is all surrounded by great rocks; except in one place, where there is a slope, with a salt-water pond at the foot. The water comes in below a pebbly point in the form of a spur. The top of the island is flat, covered with trees, and it has a very beautiful spring. In this place there is a copper mine. From there I went to a harbor a league and a half from it, where there is also a copper mine. This harbor is in latitude 45 2-3 degrees. It is dry at low tide. To enter, it is necessary to place buoys and to mark the sand bar at the mouth, which extends along a channel parallel with the mainland on the other side. Then one enters a bay, which is almost a league long and half a league wide. In some places the bottom is muddy and sandy, and vessels can run aground there. The sea there rises and falls from four to five fathoms. This Cape of Two Bays, where the harbor of mines is situated, is so called because to the north and the south of the

[5]Cape Chignecto.

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cape there are two bays which run
northeast and northeast some 12
leagues;[6] and there is a strait at th
ing of each bay not more than half a
wide. Beyond the strait it suddenly
to about 3, 4 or 5 leagues.[7] There
several islands in this bay, where th
ponds, and two or three little river
flow into it, by which the savage
their canoes to Tregaté, and to M
in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence,
water, partly by land.

All the country that I saw after
passage on Long Island, sailing
coast, is nothing but rocks, with
where ships could go in safety, e
Royal. The country is covered wi
tity of pines and birches, and, in
ion, it is not especially fertile.

We went west two leagues t
of Two Bays, then north five or
and crossed the other bay.[9]
some six leagues one finds a l
at the mouth of which is a rath
which projects into the sea; ar
inland a mountain the shape of

[6]Chignecto Bay and Basin of Mi
[7]That is, Chignecto Bay.
[9]Chignecto Bay.
[10]Quaco River.

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hat.[11] In this place there is an iron mine, and there is no anchorage, except for shallops. Four leagues west southwest there is a rocky point,[12] which projects a little seaward, where there are very great tides which are very dangerous. Near this point there is a cove about half a league in circumference, in which there is a very good iron mine. Four leagues farther along there is a beautiful bay, which cuts into the land and has within it three islands and a rock. Two of the islands are one league west of the cape,[13] and the other is at the mouth of one of the largest, deepest rivers that I had yet seen, which I called the River Saint John, because it was on that day that I arrived there,[14] and which is called by the savages Ouygoudy.[15] This river is dangerous, if one is not familiar with certain points and rocks on both banks. It is narrow at its mouth, then begins to widen and, having doubled its swiftness, narrows once

[11]Porcupine Mountain. Ganong. Notes from Ganong will, henceforth, be marked G.

[12]McCoy's Head, G.

[13]Negro Head, G.

[14]June 24, St. John's Day.

[15]In all probability a mistake. Ouygoudy was the name the Indians gave to their camping-ground on Navy Island, G.

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more and makes a sc
big rocks, where the
rapidity that if one t
into it, it is sucked t
sees it no more; but,
tide[16] one can go thrc
and then it widens to a
places, and contains th
there are a great many
tiful trees, such as oak
and wild grapevines.
the country go by this
doussac, which is on t
Lawrence, and cross t
there. It is 65 leagues
John to Tadoussac. At
in latitude 45 2-3 degr
mine. Shallops cannot
leagues in this river, be
which can be navigatec
canoes of the savages.

From the River St. J
islands, on one of which
tity of birds called mag
are as good as young p
is three leagues from t
ther west there are oth

[16]It is passable only at ha
[17]Professor Ganong belie
butternuts here.

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them one having an area of six leagues, which is called by the savages Menane.[18] At the south of this there are, among the islands, several harbors suitable for ships. From the Magpie Islands I went to a river in the mainland called the River of the Etechemins, from a tribe of savages so called in their country, and we passed by such a number of beautiful islands that I could not count them. Some had an area of two leagues, some three, others more or less. They are all in a bay,[19] in my judgment of more than fifteen leagues in circumference, with several good places for as many ships as one would wish. Round about there is good fishing: cod, salmon, bass, herring, halibut and other fishes in great number. Going west northwest, three leagues past the islands, one enters a river, almost half a league wide at its mouth,[20] in which there are two islands one or two leagues further up: one very small,[21] near the mainland on the west; and the other in

[18]Grand Manan. Champlain used the form Manthane in his first account (1613), and that name is given in the heading to this chapter. Laverdière says that Menane is the true name.

[19]Passamaquoddy Bay.

[20]St. Croix, G.

[21]Little Dochet (pronounced "Doshay"), G.

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the middle.[22] The l
ence of eight or ni
rises out of the wate
high, with rocky sid
place where there is
and clayey soil, use
and other necessary
other sheltered plac
eighty to a hundred
low tide. The island
birches, maples and
very good site, and th
of about forty paces
lower, and that is e
shores of the mainlan
each other on both s
hundred to a thousa
not pass up the river
mercy of the cannon f
is the place that we b
whether for situation,
soil, or for such inte
posed to have with
shores and inland. F
those whom we hop
abolishing the wars th
another, in order bo
from them and to
Christian faith. This

[22]Dochet, G.

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De Monts, St. Croix Island.[23] Going farther up, one sees a large bay,[24] in which there are two islands—one high, the other flat—and three rivers, two of medium size, of which one flows in from the east and the other from the north, and the third, a large one, flowing in from the west:[25] that is the River of the Etechemins. Two leagues up this there is a rapid, where the savages carry their canoes on the land about 500 paces. Then they enter the river again. From there, after crossing a bit of land, one comes to the River Norembegue,[26] and the St. John. The place where the rapid is ships cannot get through, on account of its being nothing but rocks, and of there being only four or five feet of water. In May and June there are such big catches of herring and bass that one could load boats there with them. The soil is of the finest, and there are 15 or 20 acres of cleared land. The savages sometimes go there five or six

[23]For a most complete study of St. Croix Island and the part it played in diplomatic controversy see W. F. Ganong, *Dochet (St. Croix) Island*, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2d series, vol. viii, sect. 4, 127-231. This monograph is fully illustrated with maps, plans and photographs.

[24]Oak Bay, G. [25]The St. Croix.

[26]Norumbega, The Penobscot.

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weeks during the fi
rest of the country
thick forests. If t
grain would grow ve
in latitude 45 1-3 deg
of the needle is 17° ;
made in this place in

CHAPT

**Of the coast, peoples,
begue.**

CONTINUING[1] from
along the coast about
a great quantity of isla
rocks, which project m
into the sea in some p
the Ranges. Most o
with pines and firs, an
wood. Among these
great many good, fine
not attractive. I went
four or five leagues
from this island to t

[1]Champlain, in this na
of the establishment of thi
Voyages of Champlain, I
34-38.

[1]This exploring trip wa
Voyages of Champlain, II

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tered a little river, where we could not go before, inasmuch as it is a bar harbor and has only half a fathom of water at low tide, a fathom and a half when the sea is at half tide, and two fathoms when it is high. When one is within it one finds 3, 4, 5 and 6 fathoms. When we had anchored, a lot of savages came to the bank of the river and began to dance.[13] Their captain at the time, whom they called Honemechin, was not with them. He arrived about two or three hours afterward with two canoes. Then he went off, circling all about our boat. These people shave the hair on the top of their heads rather high up and wear the rest very long, combing and twisting it in the back in various ways very neatly with feathers that they fasten to the head. They paint their faces black and red, like other savages that I have seen. They are an active people, with well-formed bodies. Their weapons are pikes, clubs, bows and arrows, on the end of which some put the tail of a fish called the *signoc*;[14] others use bone, and

[13]These Indians Champlain calls Almouchiquois in his earlier narrative, *Voyages,* II, 63. They are the same as the Massachusetts of the early English settlers.

[14]The horseshoe crab. Champlain gives a picture of this shellfish in his map of 1612.

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heard any one speak of it. It
said also that there is a large
populated with savages who a
and expert making use of cotton
am confident that most of those
tion them did not see them, and s
what they heard from those whc
more about them than they did.
very well that there are some p
may have seen the mouth of it, b
a matter of fact, there are a quan
ands, and it is in latitude 44°, at
as they say. But there is nothin
that any one ever entered it, for t
have described it in a different w
so many people would not doubt
state, then, what I discovered and
the beginning, as far as I went.

In the first place, at its mouth
leagues from the mainland, ther
eral islands, which are in latitud
in 18° 40′ of the declination of
The Island of Mount Desert ma
the points at its mouth, and lies

[1]Champlain probably refers to the ac
city of Norumbega, which was conta
toire Universelle des Indes Occident
1607, and to that of Jean Alfonse. B
quoted and refuted by Lescarbot, *H*
Nouvelle France, ed. Tross, II, 470-4

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pumpkins and some tobacco, which they also cultivate. The Indian corn that I saw there was two feet high, and some of it was three. They sow it in May and harvest it in September. As for the beans, they were beginning to blossom, as were also the squashes and pumpkins. I saw there a great quantity of nuts, which are small, and have several divisions. There were not any yet on the trees, but we found enough of them underneath that had fallen the year before. There are also a great many vines, which bear a very beautiful berry, from which we made a very good verjuice, something that we had not seen before, except in the Isle of Bacchus, nearly two leagues distant from this river. Their settled habitation, the tillage and the beautiful trees, gave me the impression that the air there is milder and better than that where we passed the winter, and than that of other places on the coast. The forests in the interior are very light, but, nevertheless, consist of oaks, beeches, ashes and young elms. In wet places there are a great many willows. The savages stay in this place all the time, and have a big cabin surrounded by palisades made of rather large trees placed side by side, whither they retire when their enemies come to war against them; and they cover

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sandy in most places from Quinibequy. This day we turned back two or three leagues toward Choüacoet, as far as a cape that we named Island Harbor,[3] good for ships of a hundred tons. It is among three islands.

Heading northeast a quarter north,[4] near this place, one enters another harbor[5] where there is no passage (although there are islands), except that by which one enters. At the entrance there are some dangerous rocks, with the sea breaking over them. On these islands there are so many red currants that one sees nothing else in most places, and there are an infinite number of pigeons, of which we caught a good many. The Island Harbor is in latitude 43° 25′.

Sailing along the coast we noticed smoke on the shore of the sea. We approached as near as possible, and saw no savages, which made us think that they had fled from the place. The sun was sinking, and we could not find any place to pass that night, because the coast was flat and sandy. Heading south, in order to keep off shore, so that we might anchor, when we had made about two leagues, we observed a

[3]Cape Porpoise Harbor. S.
[4]I. e., northeast by north.
[5]Goose Fair Harbor. S.

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cape on the mainland, south a
southeast[6] of us, perhaps six leagu
Two leagues to the east we saw
four rather high islands,[7] and to
a large bay. The shores of this ba
as the cape, run inland from where
about four leagues. It is two leag
from north to south, and three a
trance.[8] And not discovering any pl
able to put up in, we decided to g
cape under short sail a part of th
and approached it as far as where
ter was 16 fathoms deep. There
chored to await the dawn.

The next day we went to this cap
there are three islands near the r
full of trees of different kinds, as
acoet, and on the whole coast; an
other flat one, where the sea break
juts out into the sea a little farth
the others, where there is not any
all. We named this place Islan
Near it we perceived a canoe with
six savages in it who were comin
who, when they were near our bo

[6]I. e., south by east. This was Cape A
[7]The Isles of Shoals.
[8]The broad water at the mouth of t
mac.
[9]Cape Anne.

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away to dance on the shore. I landed to see them, and gave each one a knife and some biscuit, which caused them to dance again better than before. When this was over, I made them understand, as best I could, that they should show me how the coast lay. After having depicted for them, with a piece of charcoal, the bay and the Island Cape, where we were, they represented for me, with the same crayon, another bay, which they showed as very large.[10] They put six pebbles at equal distances, thus giving me to understand that each of these stood for as many chiefs and tribes. Then they represented within this bay a river[11] which we had passed, which extends very far, and has shoals. We found a great many vines in this place, with green grapes on them a little larger than peas, and many nut trees, on which the nuts were no larger than musket balls. These savages told us that all who lived in this country cultivated and planted the soil, like the others that we had seen before. This place is in latitude 43 degrees and some minutes.

Doubling the cape[12] we entered a cove,

[10]Massachusetts Bay.

[11]The Merrimac.

[12]This paragraph and the two short ones follow-

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toward their companions to warn them of our coming. When they had shown us the direction in which they lived they made a sign with smoke, to show us their dwellings. We anchored near a little island,[17] from which we sent our canoe to carry them knives and cakes. We perceived, from the number of them, that these places were more inhabited than the others that we had seen. After we had spent two hours studying these people, whose canoes are made of birch bark, like those of the Canadians, Souriquois and Etechemins, we weighed anchor, and, with the prospect of good weather, we set sail. Continuing our route west southwest, we saw many islands on both sides. Having made seven or eight leagues, we anchored near an island,[18] where we saw a great deal of smoke all along the shore and many savages running to see us. We sent two or three men in a canoe toward them, to whom we gave some knives and beads to present to them. They were much pleased with these things, and danced several times in acknowledgment. We could not find out the name of their chief, because we did not understand their

[17] Thatcher's Island. S.

[18] Probably in Boston Harbor, near the western end of Noddle's Island, now East Boston. S.

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language. All along the
great deal of land cleared,
Indian corn. The country
and agreeable, with a gre
trees. Those who inhab
made all in one piece, ver
one is not skillful in man
had not seen any of that k
is how they make them: a
much trouble and spent a
ing the largest and tallest
find, with stone hatchets
they had no other kind, unl
got some from the savage
Acadie, who got them in
they take off the bark, an
one side, where they set
way all along the log. Sor
red-hot pebbles, which the
and when the fire is too
guish it with a little wa
but only enough to preven
canoe from being burned
much hollowed out as
scrape it all over with th
pebbles with which they d
like our musket flints.

The next day, the 17th
weighed anchor to go to
we had seen the day befor

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south southwest[19] of us. This day we could make only five leagues, and we passed some islands covered with wood.[20] I recognized in the bay everything that the savages of Island Cape had described to me. As we continued our course, a great many people came to us from the islands and the mainland in canoes. We anchored a league from the cape, which I named Saint Louis,[21] where we saw smoke in several places. When we were trying to go there our boat ran on a rock, where we were in great danger; for, if we had not got it off promptly, it would have overturned into the sea, which was ebbing, where there were about five or six fathoms of water. But God preserved us, and we anchored near this cape, whither came fifteen or sixteen canoes of savages, some of them containing fifteen or sixteen, who began to show signs of great joy, and made a variety of speeches, which we did not understand at all. We sent three or four men ashore in our canoe, to get some water, and to see their chief, named Honabetha. He was given some knives, and other trinkets, which I thought it proper to give them. He came

[19] Southeast?
[20] In Boston Bay.
[21] Brant Point. S.

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alongside to see us, with a num
companions, of whom there wer
on the bank as in their canoes. W
the chief very kindly, and gave
cheer; and when he had been t
time he returned. The men who
sent to them brought us some littl
the size of one's fist, which we
salad, like cucumbers. They are v
They brought, also, some pursla
grows freely amongst the Indian
of which they take no more accou
weeds. We saw, in this place, a g
little houses scattered about the fie
they plant their Indian corn.

There is, besides, in this bay a v
river,[22] which I named River du
think it rises in the direction of
quois, a tribe[23] that has open war
Montagnais of the great Saint
River.

[22]Probably the Charles River. Appar
at the end of the chapter to make cc
description of Boston Bay, although
naturally have been mentioned earlier.
was named after De Monts, whose fa
was Du Guast (also spelled Gua, or G

[23]Champlain's maps greatly contract
of the land between the coast and L
plain.

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CHAPTER VI

Continuation of the discoveries along the coast of the Almouchiquois, and what we specially noticed there.

THE next day we rounded Cape St. Louis, so named by us, a rather flat country, in latitude 42¾°, and this day made two leagues along a sandy shore. In going by we saw there a great many cabins and gardens, and entered a little bay. Two or three canoes came toward us, on their way from catching cod and other fish, which abound there. They catch them with hooks made of a piece of wood, into which they drive a bone shaped like a harpoon, which they fasten very carefully so that it shall not come out, the whole being in the form of a hook. The line which is attached to it is of hemp, I think, like that in France; and they told me that they gathered the plant for it in their land without cultivating it, indicating to us that it was four or five feet high.[1] This canoe went back to the land to warn those of this settlement, who made

[1]The swamp milkweed, or Indian hemp. S.

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fires in our honor; and we sa
twenty savages come to the ed
ter and dance. Our canoe w
give them some trinkets, wit
were very much pleased. S
came to us and asked us to
river. We weighed anchor to
could not enter it because of
ter that we found there, as it
And so we were obliged to
mouth. I went ashore, where
many more savages, who rec
graciously. I explored the r
observed nothing but an a
which extended a little inlan
is, in part, cleared. In it th
brook which cannot carry bo
high tide. This place is abou
circumference. At one side o
to it there is a sort of island
wood, principally pines, whicl
at one end with some pret
dunes; on the other side th
high ground. There are two
bay, that one does not see
within it. And in this bay the
dry at low tide. This place i
able from the sea, inasmuch
is very flat, except the cape a
of the bay. We named it C

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Harbor,[3] it being distant two leagues from this cape, and ten from the Island Cape. It is in about the same latitude as Cape St. Louis.

We left this place,[3] and, coasting along the shore southward, we made four or five leagues and passed near a rock level with the water. Continuing our course we perceived land which we thought was islands; but, getting near it, we discovered that it was the mainland, north northwest of us, and that it was the cape of a large bay[4] more than 18 or 19 leagues in circumference, where we were so engulfed that we had to turn completely about to round the cape that we had seen. We named it Cape Blanc,[5] because it was sand and dunes which looked white. A favorable wind served us well in this place, for without it we should have been in danger of being cast on the shore. This bay is very safe, provided one does not go nearer the shore

[3]This was the harbor of Plymouth. See *Voyages of Champlain,* II, 78, for his plan and the identification of the places on it. This harbor had been visited by Martin Pring in 1603, and Capt. John Smith explored it in 1614 and named it Plymouth.

[3]On July 19, 1605.

[4]Cape Cod Bay.

[5]Cape Cod.

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than a good league, for i
rocks, except the one
spoken, which is near a ri
distance inland.[6] We nam
Suzanne du Cap Blanc.
St. Louis is ten leagues
Blanc is a sandy point whic
to the south six leagues. T
sists of lofty sand dunes, w
spicuous as one comes from th
ing at about 15 or 18 leagues
one finds 30, 40 and 50 fatho
all the way until one comes to
near the shore, which is very sa
a great stretch of open country o
before one enters the woods, whic
agreeable and pleasant to see. We
off the shore and noticed several
toward whom four of our men wen
ing on a sand dune they saw a son
and some cabins bordering it all
When they were about a league and
from us there came dancing toward
(as they told us) a savage who had
down from the high part of the coast
who returned there shortly afterwar
warn those of his settlement of our com

The next day[7] we went to the place t

[6]Wellfleet Harbor.
[7]July 20.

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our men had discovered, which we found to be a very dangerous port, because of shallows and bars, and where we saw breakers in every direction. It was almost low tide when we entered it, and there were only four feet of water in the northern passage; at high tide there are two fathoms. When we were in it we found this place rather large, perhaps three or four leagues in circumference, all surrounded by little houses, about which each occupant had as much land as was necessary for his support. A rather pretty little river empties into it. At low tide it is about three and a half feet deep. There are also two or three brooks bordered by meadows. This place would be very fine, if only the harbor were good. I took the altitude and found the latitude 42°, and the variation of the needle 18° 40′. A great many savages came to us, both men and women, who ran up from every direction dancing. We named this place Port de Mallebarre.[8]

The next day we went, with our arms, to see their settlement, going a league along the coast. Before arriving at their cabins, we entered a field planted with Indian corn in the way that we have already described. It was in flower and was five and a half feet

[8]Nauset Harbor.

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high. There was s
planted later. We als
Brazilian beans, and
sizes, good to eat; son
roots that they cultiva
taste of the artichoke.
with oaks, walnuts[9] and
presses,[10] which are re
very good odor. There
fields that were not cultiv
they were letting the soil
they wish to plant it the
and then till it with thei
Their cabins are round, cc
mats made of reeds, and o
middle, there is about a
open, where the smoke of th
make escapes. We asked th
their settled home, and if i
much; which we could not
certain, as we did not know
although they tried as hard
to tell us by signs, taking som
hands, then spreading it on th
showing that it was the color
bands and that it came upon
the depth of a foot. Others of t
us that it was less; giving us

[9]Here probably hickories.
[10]Red cedars.

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derstand that the harbor never freezes. But we could not find out whether the snow lasted long or not. Nevertheless, I think that the region is temperate, and that the winter is not severe.[11]

None of the savages this side of the Island Cape wear either gowns or furs, except very rarely, and what gowns they do wear are made of grass and of hemp, and scarcely cover their bodies, reaching only to the thighs. They have only the private parts concealed with a small piece of skin. And the women, too, except that with them it comes down a little lower in the back than with the men. All the rest of the body is naked. When the women came to see us they wore gowns open in the front. The men cut off their hair on the top of the head, like those at the Choüacoet River. I saw, among other things, a girl with her hair dressed quite neatly, with a skin dyed red, embroidered on the upper part with little beads of shell. A part of her hair

[11]At this point Champlain omits the account given in his earlier narrative of the fray with the Indians, which resulted in the death of a sailor. This was the first recorded clash between the French and the Massachusetts Indians. See *Voyages of Champlain,* II, 83-84. Laverdière, *Voyages, 1613;* pp. 67-68.

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hung down her back, and the
braided in different ways. Th
paint their faces red, black a
They have almost no beard, and
as fast as it grows, and their bodi
proportioned. I do not know wh
ment they have, and I think th
they resemble their neighbors,
not any, and do not know how
or to pray. For arms they have
clubs, bows and arrows. They
look at them, good-natured and
those in the north; but, to tell
they are bad, and even the lit
of them enabled us easily to d
character. They are great thie
they cannot secure a thing with
they try to do so with their feet
often experienced. One should
guard with these people and co
trust them, without ever letti
aware of it. They bartered th
rows and quivers with us for
tons; and if they had had an
they would have done the sam
gave us a great deal of tobacc
dry, then powder. When th
corn they boil it in earthen po
make differently from our
also bray it in wooden morta

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it to flour, then make cakes and biscuits of it, like the Indians of Peru.[12]

There is some cleared land, and they are clearing some every day. This is how they do it: they cut the trees three feet from the ground, then burn the branches on the trunk, and plant their corn between these cut trees, and in the course of time take up the roots. There are also some beautiful meadows which would feed a goodly number of cattle. This harbor is very beautiful and good. There is enough water in it for ships, and one can be sheltered there behind the islands. It is in latitude 43°, and we named it Beauport.[13]

The last day of September[14] we departed from Beauport, passed by Cape St.

[12]Nauset Harbor, on the southeast bend of Cape Cod, was the end of the exploration of 1605. The earlier narrative records a few more observations about the Indians, etc., and then tells of the return and the removal of the settlement from St. Croix to Port Royal and its history down to Sept. 5, 1606, when Poutrincourt set out to make further exploration of the coast to the south. Champlain roughly fitted the narrative of the voyage of 1606 on to that of the 1605 voyage with some overlapping. It begins in the following paragraph with some further observations about Cape Anne.

[13]Gloucester Harbor.

[14]Sept. 30, 1606.

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Louis,[15] and sailed all night t
Blanc.[16] In the morning, one
dawn, we found ourselves to th
Cape Blanc, in Baye Blanche,[17]
of water, a league from the la
chored there, in order not to g
before daylight and to see
was. Meanwhile, we sent o
make soundings. Not more t
of water was found, so that
sary to decide, while we w
light, what we should do. T
ered to five feet, and some
went aground on the sand,
any shock or any damage,
fine and we had not less th
water under us. Then t
rise, which gave us great

When it was day we obs
sandy shore, off which w
to the leeward. Thither
lop to make soundings i
some rather high land,
that there was a great
in fact, we found there
anchored there, and at
pared the shallop, with

[15]Brant Point.
[16]Cape Cod.
[17]Cape Cod Bay.

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go ashore to look at a place where we thought there was an excellent harbor, to which we could go if the wind should rise higher than it then was. Having explored we entered it in 2, 3 and 4 fathoms of water. When we were within we found 5 or 6 fathoms. There were a great many oysters there, which were very good. We had not seen them before, and we called the place Oyster Harbor.[18] It is in latitude 42°. Three canoes of savages came to us. This day the wind was favorable for us, and so we weighed anchor to go to Cape Blanc, distant from this place five leagues north a quarter northeast, and we doubled it.

The next day, October 2, we arrived off Mallebarre,[19] where we sojourned some time, on account of an adverse wind. During this time we went with the shallop, with a dozen or fifteen men, to visit the harbor. There a hundred and fifty savages came to meet us, singing and dancing, according to their custom. When we had seen this place we returned to our ship and, as the wind was favorable, we sailed along the coast toward the south.

[18]Probably Barnstable Harbor. S.
[19]Nauset.

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CHAPTER VI

**Continuation of these explorat
Port Fortuné, some twenty league**

WHEN we were about six l
Mallebarre we anchored near t
the wind was unfavorable. Alo
we perceived some smoke made
ages, which decided us to go t
and, with this object, the sh
equipped. But when we were
beach, which is sandy, we could
it for the swell was too great.
savages saw this they launched a
eight or nine of them came toward
ing and making signs of the joy
felt at seeing us. Then they showe
lower down there was a harbor, w
could put our bark in a safe place.
shallop could not get to the shore
back to the bark, and the savages r
to the shore after we had treated
kindly.

The next day, the wind being fav
we continued our course five leagues
north,[1] and had no sooner gone thu

[1] A mistake for the south.

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than we found three or four fathoms of water a league and a half from the shore. When we had gone a little farther the bottom rose to a fathom and a half, and two fathoms, which gave us some apprehension, as we saw the sea breaking on all sides, and did not see any passage by which we could return on our course, for the wind was directly contrary.

Being thus entangled among the breakers and sand-bars it was necessary to take our chances on a passage where we could judge that there was the most water for our bark, which drew at least four feet, and we went among the breakers to where it was four and a half feet deep. At last we succeeded, by the grace of God, in getting by a sandy point which juts almost three leagues into the sea, south southeast, a very dangerous place. Doubling this cape, which we named Cap Batturier,[2] a dozen or thirteen leagues from Mallebarre, we anchored in two and a half fathoms of water, for we perceived that we were surrounded on all sides by breakers and shoals, except in some places where the sea was not so rough. We sent the shallop to find a channel, so that we might go to a place which we judged

[2]Monomoy Point. The distances are overestimated, S. Cap Batturier means Cape of Shoals.

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to be the one that the savages h
about; and we thought, too, that
a river there, where we could be

When our shallop arrived there
went ashore and looked over
Then they came back, bringing
with them, and told us that we c
there at high tide, which we deci
Immediately we weighed anchor
the guidance of the savage, who
we anchored at a roadstead[3] in fi
harbor, where there were six f
water and a good bottom. We
enter the harbor, for night had
us.

The next day some one was s
beacons on the end of a sand l
mouth of the harbor; then, as
tide, we entered in two fathom
When we got there we praised
were in a place of safety.[4] (
which had broken, had been re
ropes, and we feared lest, a
shallows and strong tides, it
again, which would have ca
be lost.

Within this harbor there
fathom of water, and at high

[3]Chatham Roads, or Old Stage I
[4]Stage Harbor, Chatham. S.

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the east there is a bay which runs northward about three leagues. In it there are an island and two other little coves, which make the landscape beautiful. There is a good deal of cleared land, and there are many little hills, where they raise corn and other grains upon which they live. There are also very beautiful vines there, a great many walnuts, oaks, cypresses[5] and a few pines. All the people here are very fond of tilling the soil, and store Indian corn for the winter, which they preserve in the following way: they make trenches on the hillsides in the sand, five or six feet, more or less, deep; put their corn and other grains in big sacks made of grass, and throw them into these trenches and cover them with sand three or four feet above the surface of the earth. They take from their store at need, and it is as well preserved as it could be done in our granaries.[6]

[5]Cedars.

[6]The Pilgrim Fathers found such stores. Bradford writes: "And heaps of sand newly padled with their hands, which they digging up, found in them diverce faire Indian baskets filled with corne, and some in eares, faire and good, of diverce collours." *History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. 1898, p. 99. See also the other quotations in *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 121.

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In this place we saw
hundred savages who w
cept their private parts,
with a little piece of doe
The women also cover
or white leaves, and a
well combed, and braided
like the Choüacoet[7] wom
proportioned in their b
olive-colored. They deck
feathers, shell beads and
which they arrange ve
sort of embroidery. Their
arrows and clubs; and they
great hunters as good fish
bandmen.

As to what their regulati
and belief may be, I have
to conjecture, and I think t
different, in these respects,
quois and Canadian savage
neither the sun, nor the moo
else, and pray no more than
they have among them som
they say, have an understa
devil, in whom they have g
tell them everything that is
although lying most of the t
them as prophets, althoug

[7] I. e., the Maine Indians.

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them, as the Egyptians and Bohemians[8] do the simple villagers. They have chiefs whom they obey in questions of war, but not otherwise. They work and do not have any higher rank than their companions.

Their habitations are separated from one another according to the land that each can occupy, and are large, made circular, covered with matting, or the leaf of the Indian corn. They are furnished only with a bed or two, raised a foot from the ground, made of a number of pieces of wood piled one upon another, on top of which they put a reed mat, in the Spanish fashion (a sort of matting two or three fingers thick), on which they sleep.[9] They have a great many fleas in summer, even in the fields. When we went walking we were so covered with them that we had to change our clothes.

All the harbors, bays and shores from Choüacoet are filled with every kind of fish, like those on the coasts of Acadie, and

[8]The Gypsies. Egyptians, in the popular form, "Gypsies" came to be the common English name for these wandering fortune-tellers, while in French it came to be "Bohemians"; hence the origin of "Bohemian" in the sense of unconventional.

[9]Cf. the quotations, from Gookin and Mourt's Relation, in *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 125.

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in such abu
that there w
we did not
more than a
chasing the
tity of vario
cially oyster
dant there.

It would
building and
commonweal
deeper and t
is. It was
count of an
It is in lat
leagues fro
the surroun
beautiful, as
saw a great
there.

Having le
or seven le
which we n
cause from a

[10]Chatham. F
night, contrary
prised by the
See *Voyages*
dière, *Voyages*
[11]The Doubtf

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thought that it was something besides an island. Coasting along to the southwest nearly twelve leagues we passed near a river which is very small and difficult to approach, because of shallows and rocks at its mouth. I gave it my name.[12] All that we saw of this coast consists of low and sandy lands, which are not lacking in beauty and fertility, although hard to reach. There are no shelters, very many reefs, and there is little water for nearly two leagues from the land. The most that we found was seven or eight fathoms in some channels, though it did not extend more than the length of a cable; then one suddenly returned to two or three fathoms. No one should trust himself to it without having become very familiar with it by taking soundings.

These are all the coasts that we explored, whether in Acadie or among the Etechemins and Almouchiquois.[13] I made a very exact map of what I saw of them, which I had

[12] This was the tidal passage commonly called Wood's Hole. It is to be regretted that those who wished to get rid of this homely name should have tried to transform Hole into a supposed Norse "Holl," an imaginary relic of the Norsemen, instead of trying to revive this earliest authentic name, Champlain River.

[13] I. e., whether in Nova Scotia or New England.

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eral inlets and bays. In one of them there is a river called Ste. Marguerite,[3] seven leagues from Sesambre, in latitude 44° 25′. The coasts and islands are covered with a great many pines, firs, birches and other poor kinds of trees. Fishing is abundant and also bird-hunting.

From Sesambre we passed a very safe bay of about seven or eight leagues in extent, with no islands in it, except at the bottom, where there is the mouth of a little river with not much water in it.[4] Then, heading northeast by east, we came to a harbor eight leagues from Sesambre, which is quite good for ships of 100 to 120 tons. At its mouth there is an island, from which, at low tide, one can go to the mainland. We named this place Port Ste. Heleine.[5] It is in latitude 44° 40′, a little more or less.

From this place we went to a bay called The Bay of All Islands, which has an area of perhaps 14 or 15 leagues,[6] dangerous places on account of the sand-bars, shallows and reefs that are there. The country looks very poor, being filled with the same kinds of wood that I have mentioned above.

[3] The name still survives.
[4] Halifax Harbor.
[5] Perpisawick Inlet. S.
[6] Nicomtau Bay and the islands in and near it.

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From there we went alo
six leagues distant, whicl
Island River, because it
mouth.[7] This short stret
was filled with a great ma
almost a league into the sea
ter breaks a great deal. 1
45½°.

From there we went to
there is a bay and two or thr
a rather fine harbor,[8] three
Green Island. We also pass
ands that are in a row, and
Les Isles Rangées. They are
leagues from Green Island. /
passed by another bay,[9] whe
several islands, and went as fa
where we found a ship which
among some islands that are
distant from the shore, four le
Les Isles Rangées. We called
Savalette Harbor,[10] from the cap
boat that was fishing. He was a

Leaving this place we arrived at

[7]The River St. Mary and Wedge Isla
[8]Country Harbor.
[9]Tor Bay.
[10]White Haven.
[11]Spelled Canseau by Champlain in
Campseau in 1613. The modern Englis
Canso.

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on the 27th of the month.[12] It is distant from Savalette Harbor six leagues, in which space we passed a great many islands before we reached Canseau. The raspberries on them were plentiful beyond description.

All the shores that we coasted along, from Cape Sable to this place, consist of moderately high land and cliffs; for the most part places bordered by a number of islands and reefs which jut out into the sea sometimes nearly two leagues. They are very bad for ships to approach; nevertheless, there is no lack of good harbors and roadsteads along these coasts and islands. As for the land, it is worse and more disagreeable than in other places that we had seen, except about some rivers and brooks where the country is rather pleasant. In these places the winter must be cold, and it lasts almost six months.

This port of Canseau is among islands, and it is very hard of approach, if the weather is not good, on account of the rocks and reefs all about.

From this place to the Island of Cape Breton, which is in latitude 45¾°, and 14° 50′

[12]August. Champlain omits here the meeting with Champdoré and Lescarbot at Canseau. *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 154.

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of the variation of the needl
leagues; and to Cape Breto
Between the two there is a
tering about nine or ten lea
land. It makes a passage bet
and of Cape Breton and t
which extends to the great
Lawrence, by which one goes
Isle Percée, where there is
passage by the Island of C
very narrow. Large ship
through it at all, although t
water there, because of the
and the violence of the tid
this place Running Passage
tude 45¾°.

This Cape Breton Island
form, 80 leagues in circun
for the most part, mount
in some places pleasant.
it there is a sort of lake,
enters from the north a
and from the south a qu

[13]Le Passage Courante: th
Canso.

[14]Great Bras d'or Lake.

[15]That is, the northern entra
and the southern south by ea
ral entrance at the south, b
by digging a canal through
St. Peter's.

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and there are many islands filled with a great deal of game, and shellfish of several kinds; among others, oysters which have not much flavor. In this place there are several harbors and places for fishing, namely, English Harbor,[16] two or three leagues from Cape Breton; and the other, Niganis, 18 or 20 leagues farther north. The Portuguese formerly wished to inhabit this island, and passed a winter there, but the severity of the weather and the cold made them abandon their settlement.[16*] When I had seen all these things I returned to France, having spent four years equally divided between the settlement at St. Croix and Port Royal.[17]

[16]Later named Louisbourg.

[16*]Possibly at the time of the exploration of Fagundes, 1521. See Harrisse, *Discovery of North America*, 182, ff.

[17]More exactly three years and four months from May, 1604, to September, 1607.

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BOOK III

CHAPTER

Voyages of Sieur de Pout
France, where he left his son, S
The Jesuit fathers who were se
progress in making the Christia

THE late Sieur de Poutrin
having obtained a grant
Monts, in virtue of his comn
lands adjacent to Port Roya
abandoned, the settlement r
right, this Sieur de Poutrin
ery endeavor to settle it an
son, Sieur de Biencourt, w
was considering how to e
there, the people of Ro
Basques assisted in most of
in the hope of getting furs
But his plan did not succee
for the very charitable Ma
cheville interfered in this r
ness and consideration tov
fathers. This is the accoun

This Sieur Jean de Pout

[1]In his account of these even
lowed very closely Father Biar
Nouvelle France, etc., Lyons, 1
Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations,* vol

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Sieur de Monts left New France, asked him for Port Royal as a grant. This he bestowed upon him, on condition that within the following two years this Sieur de Poutrincourt should go there himself with several other families, to cultivate and settle the country; which he promised to do in the year 1607. The late King Henry the Great ratified and confirmed this grant and told the late Reverend Father Coton that he wished to make use of their company for the conversion of savages, promising two thousand livres for their maintenance. Father Coton obeyed the commandment of His Majesty; and among others of their fathers Father Biard presented himself to be employed in so holy a voyage; and in the year 1608 he was sent to Bordeaux, where he remained a long time without hearing anything further of the expedition to Canada.

In the year 1609 Sieur de Poutrincourt arrived at Paris. The King having been informed of it, and knowing that contrary to His Majesty's expectations, he had not stirred from France, was very much vexed with him. In order to please His Majesty, he equipped himself for the voyage. Upon this resolution Father Coton offered to give him some monks. Then Sieur de Poutrin-

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court told him that it v
wait until the next year,
soon as he should arrive
would send back his so
Jesuit fathers could come

In fact, in the year 1
Poutrincourt set out at
ary and reached Port R
of June following, where
as many savages as he c
twenty-five of them bapti
the Baptist's Day [June
called Messire Josué Flec
Patriarch.

A little while afterwar
Biencourt, his son, aged
to carry the good news
the savages, and to arra
soon be assisted with pro
he was ill-supplied, to
there.[2]

The Reverend Father
zar, Provincial, commis
Pierre Biard and Remon
Sieur de Biencourt. Th
Just—caused to be deli
hundred crowns promise
father, and several rich c

[2]To see how closely Cham
Relation, cf. *Jesuit Relation*

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Madame de Guercheville and Madame de Sourdis. When they arrived at Dieppe there was some discussion among the Jesuit fathers and the merchants, which caused the fathers to retire to their College of Eu.

When Madame de Guercheville knew this, she was very indignant that the tradesmen had been so presumptuous as to have offended and thwarted these fathers, and said that they ought to be punished; but their only chastisement lay in their not being admitted to the expedition. And, knowing that the equipment would not go above four thousand livres, she took up a collection in the court, and by this kind action she got that sum, with which she paid the merchants who had troubled these fathers, and cut them off from all association with them; and, with the rest of this sum and other large property, she established a fund for the maintenance of these fathers, not wishing them to be a charge to Sieur de Poutrincourt. She also arranged that the profits that came from furs and fish, which the ship should bring back, should not revert to the benefit of the associates and other merchants, but should go back to Canada, in the possession of Sieur Robin and Sieur de Biencourt, who should use it

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of them of the so-called reformed religion —who confessed that they found these good fathers quite different from what they had been described.

Sieur de Poutrincourt, desiring to return to France, to order his affairs better, left his son, Sieur de Biencourt, and the Jesuit fathers behind him. Altogether, they numbered about twenty persons. He left there in the middle of July of the same year, 1611, and arrived in France at the end of the month of August.

During the winter this Sieur de Biencourt caused annoyances to the people of the son of Pontgravé, whose name was Robert Gravé, whom he treated pretty badly; but, at last, through the efforts of the Jesuit fathers, everything was pacified, and they remained good friends.

As Sieur de Poutrincourt was seeking in France every means of aiding his son, Madame de Guercheville, who was pious, virtuous and very much devoted to the conversion of the savages, having already collected some funds, communicated with him in regard to the matter, and said that she would very gladly join the company, and that she would send some Jesuit fathers with him for the aid of Canada.

The contract of partnership was approved,

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tained letters from His Majesty, now reigning, in which the gift was made anew to her of all the lands of New France from the great river as far as Florida, excepting only Port Royal, which was what Sieur de Poutrincourt possessed then, and nothing else.

This lady gave money to the Jesuit fathers to put into the hands of some merchant at Dieppe, but this Sieur de Poutrincourt inveigled these same fathers into giving him four hundred of this thousand crowns.

He sent, in charge of this expedition, an employee of his called Simon Imbert Sandrier, who acquitted himself rather badly in the management of this equipped and freighted ship. He left Dieppe December 31, in the height of winter, and reached Port Royal January 23, the next year, 1612.

Sieur de Biencourt was very glad, on the one hand, to see fresh aid coming; and, on the other hand, he was annoyed that Madame de Guercheville was out of the company,[4] according to what this Imbert told

[4]Madame de Guercheville through acquiring De Monts's titles and through the king's grant had become the proprietary of all the northeastern coast with the exception of Port Royal, an accession of power which superseded the partnership with Poutrincourt.

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du Thet, but they were to go back to France with the crew, which numbered 38. The Queen had contributed to the expense for arms, powder and ammunition. The ship was 100 tons burden. It left Honfleur March 12, in the year 1613, and reached La Héve, in Acadie, May 16, where they set up the arms of Madame de Guercheville as a sign of possession. They came to Port Royal, where they found only five persons —two Jesuit fathers, Hébert, an apothecary (who took the place of Sieur de Biencourt while he went to a long distance to look for provisions), and two other persons. It was to him that they presented the letters from the Queen to release the fathers and permit them to go wherever it seemed good to them; which was done, and these fathers withdrew their goods from the country and left some provisions to this Hébert, so that he should not be in need.

They went from this place, and settled the desert mountains at the mouth of the Pemetegoet[6] River. The pilot reached the coast on the east of the Island of Mount Desert,[7] where the fathers stayed, and they gave thanks to God, erecting a cross, and had the holy sacrifice of the Mass; and this

[6] Penobscot.

[7] L'isle des Monts Deserts.

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[8]Frenchman's Bay.
France, 302. Cf. Bia
tions, III, 265.

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la Motte le Vilin, Lieutenant Saussaye and some others rushed on board their ship to defend it. La Saussaye remained on shore with most of his men; but, in the end, the English, being stronger than the French, after some fighting took our men. The English numbered 60 soldiers and had 14 pieces of cannon. In this fight Gilbert du Thet was killed by a musket shot; some others were wounded and the rest were captured, except Lamets and four others who ran away. Afterward they went aboard the French ship, took possession of it, pillaged what they found there and took away the commission of the King which La Saussaye had in his chest. The captain who commanded this ship was named Samuel Argall.

The enemy went ashore and hunted for La Saussaye, who had fled to the woods. The next day he came to find the Englishman, who received him kindly. Being asked for his commission he went to his chest to get it, believing that it had not been opened. He found there all his clothes and conveniences, except the commission, which greatly astonished him. And then the Englishman, feigning indignation, said to him: "What? You gave us to understand that you had a commission from the King, your master,

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and cannot produc
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Thereupon the En
among themselves.

The Jesuit fathe
which the French
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should be sent back to France, and three of them accepted this offer. Sieur de la Motte, also, had consented, from the beginning, to go to Virginia with this English captain, who honored him because he had found him doing his duty; and he allowed him to take some of his men with him and Father Biard; that they should be four, namely, two fathers and two others, and that they should be taken to the islands where the English fish for cod, and that he should give orders to them that by their means he[9] could pass over to France. This the English captain granted him very willingly.

In this way it was possible for the shallop to carry the men divided into three companies. Fifteen were with the pilot who had got away, fifteen with the Englishman, and fifteen in the shallop that had been given, in which Father Masse was; and it was delivered into the hands of La Saussaye, and this same Father Masse, with some provisions; but there were no sailors. By good fortune the pilot met it, which was a great benefit to them, and they went as far as Sesambre, beyond La Héve, where Robert Gravé's ship and another ship were.

[9]It should be "they." Cf. the passage in Biard's *Relation, Jesuit Relations*, iv, 22, 23.

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Upon this resolution of the Marshal, Argall resumed his course with three vessels, divided the Frenchmen among them and returned to St. Sauveur. He thought he should find La Saussaye there, and a ship recently arrived, but he learned that he had returned to France. They set up a cross there, in place of that which the fathers had placed there, which they broke down, and on theirs they inscribed the name of the King of Great Britain, for whom they took possession of this place.

Then they went to St. Croix, which he burned. He also took away all the landmarks that were there, and carried off a supply of salt that they found in it.[11]

Afterward he went to Port Royal, guided by a savage whom he took by force, the Frenchmen being unwilling to direct him. He went ashore, made an entrance, saw the dwelling and, not finding any one in it, took what there was of plunder, had it burned, and in two hours the whole was in ashes. And he took all the landmarks that the French had put there,

tions from the King, while it is hard to see any basis, whatever, of authority for Dale's action. Cf. Parkman's strong expressions, *Pioneers of New France*, 312-13.

[11]Cf. Biard, *Jesuit Relations*, iv, 37.

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him to put him to death.[14] He[15] was then in the third vessel, which was under the command of a captain named Turnel, a mortal enemy of the Jesuits; and this vessel was so beaten about by the southwest wind that, bearing off to the east, he was obliged to stand for the Azores, 500 leagues from Virginia. They now killed all the horses that had been taken from Port Royal, which they ate in lieu of other provisions. At last they reached an island of the Azores, and then he said to the father: "God is provoked with us, and not with you,[16] for the evil that we have made you suffer unjustly. But I am surprised that Frenchmen off there in the woods, in the midst of so much misery and apprehension, should have spread the rumor that you are Spanish; and they not only said it and assured us of it, but they signed the statement."

"Monsieur," said the father, "you know that, in spite of all the calumnies and slan-

[14]This sentence is very blind in the French. It has been interpreted in the light of Biard's Relation, from which the story was hastily compiled.

[15]I. e., Father Biard.

[16]The French reads here "et nous contre vous" (and we with you). Biard's text has "mais non pas contre vous." It is evident that the copyist, or compositor, substituted "nous" for "non pas." Cf. *Jesuit Relations*, iv, 56, 57.

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hanged; but these inspectors, as a result of not looking carefully, did not see the Jesuit fathers at all, and went back to land; and thus the English were delivered from the danger in which they were of being hanged. They went to fetch all that they needed, then weighed anchor, put to sea, and expressed many thanks to the fathers, whom they caressed; and, no longer thinking them Spanish, they treated them as kindly as possible; they admired their great constancy and virtue in enduring the things that they had said to them, and were nothing but kindness and witnesses of good friendship until they reached England; the fathers having shown them in this way what was contrary to the opinion of a good many enemies of the Catholic church and to the prejudice of the truth, namely: that their doctrine teaches that it is not necessary to keep the faith with heretics.

At last Argall[18] reached the harbor of Milfier,[19] in the year 1614, in the province of Wales, where the captain was imprisoned for having neither passport nor com-

[18]Champlain here, in hurried compilation, forgot that Argall got back safely to Virginia, and that it was Turnel who was driven to the Azores and then went to England. See above, p. 151.

[19]Milford.

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tion of Monsieur du Biseau, at that time ambassador of the King in England.

Madame de Guercheville, having been informed of all this, sent La Saussaye to London to ask for the restoration of the ship, and that was all that one could obtain at that time. Three Frenchmen died in Virginia and four remained there while a great effort was being made for their release.

The fathers baptized there thirty little children, except three who were baptized at the approach of death.[22]

It must be admitted that this enterprise was thwarted by many misfortunes that one could well have avoided at the beginning, if Madame de Guercheville had given three thousand six hundred livres to Sieur de Monts, who wished to have a settlement at Quebec, and everything quite different. I spoke of it two or three times to the Reverend Father Coton, who managed this affair. He would have liked to have the treaty made with few conditions, or by other means, which could not be to the advantage of this Sieur de Monts, which was the reason why nothing was done; although

[22]Too hastily condensed. Biard says the Jesuits baptized "about twenty, and these were little children, except three," etc. *Jesuit Relations*, iv, 87.

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taken possession of Quebec at that time, one could have had assurance that by the watchfulness of the Jesuit fathers, and the instructions that I could have given them, the country would have been much better supplied; and that the Englishman would not have found it stripped of provisions and of arms, and would not have taken possession of it, as he has done in these last wars.[24] He has done this as a result of the acts of some bad Frenchmen, added to the fact that then these fathers did not have with them any man to conduct their affairs, except La Saussaye, who was little experienced in knowledge of places. But it is in vain that men talk and act; one cannot avoid what it pleases God to arrange.

All this shows how enterprises planned in haste, and without any solid foundation, and carried out without regard for the real substance of the affair, always come out badly.

[24]Champlain refers to the capture of Quebec by the Kirkes in 1629. The story is told in Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 435-445.

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fic of furs to all his subjects for one year only.[2]

For this purpose he had two ships equipped at Honfleur and made me his lieutenant in the country of New France in the year 1608. Pont Gravé started first to go to Tadoussac, and I went after him in a ship loaded with things necessary and suitable for a settlement. God favored us so fortunately that we arrived at the harbor of Tadoussac,[3] on that river, at which place I had all the goods unloaded, with the men, laborers and artisans, to go up the river to find a place convenient and suitable for a settlement. When I had found the narrowest place in the river, which the natives call Quebec,[4] I had a settlement built and established there, and had the ground cleared, and had some garden plots made. But while we were working with so much labor, let us see what was going on in France with regard

[2]The commission is given in *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 160-163; and in the original in Laverdière, *Voyages, 1613*, 136-137.

[3]June 3, 1608.

[4]Champlain omits here the incidents of the stay at Tadoussac, of his exploration of the Saguenay and of the voyage to Quebec. Cf. *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 164-175. Some of the details are inserted below, p. 168, ff.

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Sieur de Monts
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[6]I. e., against De Mor

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came to an agreement in regard to it with his partners some time later. He, meanwhile, put it into the hands of a certain merchant of La Rochelle, under stated conditions, to serve them as a shelter where they could deposit their merchandise and trade with the savages. It was at that time that I made the overture to the Reverend Father Coton, for Madame de Guercheville,[6] to see if she wished to have it; which could not be, as I have said above, since the trade was open until another commission should be issued which should afford a better regulation than in the past.

I went to find Sieur de Monts, to whom I explained all that had taken place in our winter quarters, and what I had been able to discover and learn of the conveniences that one might hope for on the great River St. Lawrence; which was the occasion of my seeing His Majesty, in order to give him a special account, in which he took great pleasure. Sieur de Monts, in the meantime, carried away by a desire to keep his hold on this matter at whatever cost, at once did all that he could to have a new commission. But those who envied him, by means of favor at court, had so shaped matters that his labor was in vain. Ob-

[6] See above, p. 158.

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CHAPTER III

Departure of the author, to go to settle the great River St. Lawrence. Description of the harbor of Tadoussac; of the River Saguenay; of the Isle of Orleans.

AFTER having recounted to the late King all that I had seen and discovered, I set sail to go to settle the great River St. Lawrence at Quebec, as the lieutenant, at that time, of Sieur de Monts. I left Honfleur April 13, 1608, and the third of June arrived at Tadoussac,[1] 80 or 90 leagues from Gaspé, and anchored in the roadstead of Tadoussac, which is one league from the harbor. This is like a cove at the mouth of the River Saguenay, where there is a tide that is very strange on account of its swiftness. Here sometimes violent winds rise and bring on great cold. It is said that it is 45 or 50 leagues from the harbor of Tadoussac to the first fall of this river,[2] which comes from the north northwest. This harbor is small, and it could not hold more than twenty ships. There is enough water, and it lies in the shelter

[1] See above, p. 162.
[2] The Saguenay.

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and they are so light that a man can easily carry one of them. Each one can carry the weight of a hogshead. When they wish to cross the land, to go to some river where they have business, they carry them with them. From Choüacoet[5] all along the coast as far as Tadoussac they are all alike.

I visited some places on the River Saguenay, which is a beautiful river and very deep, say from 80 to 100 fathoms. Fifty leagues from the mouth of the harbor, it is said, there is a great waterfall,[6] which comes from a very high place and with great impetuosity. There are some very barren islands in this river, being nothing but rocks covered with small firs and heather. The river is half a league wide in some places and a quarter at its mouth, where the current is so strong that it still flows out when the tide is three-quarters flood in the St. Lawrence. All the land that I saw consisted of nothing but mountains and promontories of rock, for the most part covered with firs and birches—a country very disagreeable from whatever point of view; in short, it is a real desert

[5]The Saco River, Maine.

[6]Probably the falls of the Chicoutimi, 45 feet high. The Chicoutimi empties into the Saguenay about 95 miles above Tadoussa

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[7]Cf. the narra
p. 175, below.
[8]Lake St. Joh
[9]The Mistassi
Hudson Bay. I

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change for the furs that they have, such as beaver, marten, lynx and others, which are there in great quantity and which they then bring to our ships. These northern people said to our men that they see the salt water; and if that is true, as I think is certainly so, it cannot be anything but a gulf which cuts into the land on the north.[10] The savages said that it might be forty or fifty days' journey from this sea on the north to the harbor of Tadoussac, because of the difficulty of the roads and rivers, and because the country is very mountainous and is covered with snow the greater part of the year. This is a true statement of what I learned of this stream. I have often wished to make this discovery, but I have not been able to do it without the savages, who have been unwilling to have me or any other of our men go with them. Nevertheless, they have promised me that I shall go.[11]

[10]Hudson Bay.

[11]Champlain never had this opportunity. Hudson Bay was first approached from the land side in 1662 by Radisson and Chouart, more commonly called Grosseilliers, his landed title. Cf. S. E. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence,* 323-325.

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From Eagle Cape we went to the Isle aux Coudres,[6] a league distant and about a league and a half long.[7] It is somewhat level and grows narrower at the ends. At the western end there are some meadows and rocky points, which project somewhat into the river; and on the southwest side there are many reefs; yet it is attractive, on account of the woods that surround it. It is distant about half a league from the land on the north, where there is a little river that comes from some distance in the interior, which we named Rivière du Gouffre,[8] since abreast of it the tide runs with extraordinary swiftness; and, although it looks calm, it is always much in motion, its depth being very great; but the river itself is shallow, and there are a great many rocks at its mouth and all about it. From the Isle aux Coudres we coasted along the shore and reached a cape that we named the Cap de Tourmente,[9] which is seven

[6]The name is still in use. It means Hazel Island.

[7]The translation here follows Laverdière's reconstruction of the text. *Voyages, 1632*; part I, p. 134.

[8]The name is still in use. It means River of the Whirlpool. S.

[9]Cape Tourmente, 1920 feet high. The name means Tempest Cape.

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woods and

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that side is very dangerous, because of the great number of points and rocks between the mainland and the island. There are a great many beautiful oaks on the island, and in some places nut trees, and on the edges of the woods vines and other trees such as we have in France.

This place is the beginning of the beautiful and fertile country of the great river and is 120 leagues from its mouth. At the end of the island there is a torrent of water from the north side, which I named the Falls of Montmorency. It comes from a lake which is about ten leagues in the interior and it falls from a height of nearly 25 fathoms,[10] above which the land is level and pleasant to look at, although inland there are seen high mountains, which seem to be from 15 to 20 leagues distant.

CHAPTER V

Arrival of the author at Quebec, where he made his place of abode. Habits of the savages of that country.

From the Island of Orleans to Quebec it is one league. When I arrived there on

[10]The height of the falls is given as 265 feet in Baedeker's *Canada*, p. 53.

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sawers and other workmen, worked on our lodging I set all the others at clearing the land about the building, in order to make the garden-plots in which to sow grain and seeds, to see how they would all turn out, for the soil appeared very good.

Meanwhile a great many savages were in cabins near us, fishing for eels, which begin to come about September 15 and go away on October 15. At this time all the savages live on this manna and dry enough of it to last through the winter to the month of February, when the snow is about two and a half feet deep, or three at the most. And when the eels and other things that they collect have been prepared they go to hunt the beaver, which they do until the beginning of January. They were not very successful in the beaver hunt, for the water was too high and the rivers had overflowed, as they told us. When their eels give out they have recourse to hunting the elk[4] and other wild beasts, which they can find, while waiting for the spring. At that time I was able to supply them with several things. I made a special study of their customs.

All these people are so much in want that sometimes they are driven to live on certain

[4] I. e., the moose.

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and if he should command them to carry out a certain enterprise they would obey his command at once. They believe, also, that all the dreams that they have are true; and, in fact, there are a great many of them who say that they have seen and dreamed things which have come to pass or will take place. But, to tell the truth about the matter, these are diabolical visions, which deceive them and lead them astray. This is all that I have been able to learn about their brutish belief.

All these people are well-built, without deformity, and are active. The women are equally well-formed, plump, and of a tawny complexion, because of certain pigments which they put on which make them look olive-colored. They are dressed in skins; a part of the body is covered, the rest is naked; but in winter they make up for it, for they are dressed in good furs, like elk, otter, beaver, bear, seal, deer and roe, which they have in great quantity. In winter, when there is a great deal of snow, they make a sort of racquets, which are three or four times as large as those in France,[5] which they attach to their feet, and in this way they can go in the snow without sinking in; without them they could not hunt

[5] I. e., the racquets used for tennis.

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tives and friends who are dead. In the case of captains and others in positions of authority, they come, after the death, three times a year for a celebration and dance, and sing on the grave.

They are very timid and constantly fear their enemies, and scarcely sleep at all wherever they are, although I reassured them every day as much as I could and advised them to do as we do, namely: let some watch while others sleep, and let each one have his arms ready, like him who was on guard; and that they should not take dreams for the truth, on which to rely. But these teachings were of little use, and they said that we understood better than they how to protect ourselves against these things, and that in time, if we should come to live in their country, they would learn.

CHAPTER VI

Planting of vines at Quebec by the author. His kindness to the poor savages.

On the first of October I had wheat planted, and on the fifteenth rye.

On the third of the month there was

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their canoes were caught and broken into a thousand pieces by the ice. They had the presence of mind to throw themselves, with their children, whom the women carried on their backs, upon a large cake of ice. While they were on it one could hear them crying out in such a way as to excite great pity; and they expected nothing but death. But fortune so favored these poor wretches that a big piece of ice struck so hard against the side of the one upon which they were that it threw them on the shore. When they saw this favorable turn, they reached the shore with as much joy as they had ever had in doing so, in spite of the great hunger from which they had suffered. They came to our settlement looking so thin and worn that they seemed like skeletons, most of them not able to stand up. I was astonished to see them and at the way in which they had crossed, when I thought of how feeble and weak they were. I had bread and beans given to them, but they could not wait for them to be cooked to eat them; and I loaned them some bark of trees to cover their cabins. As they were making their cabins they discovered a piece of carrion that I had thrown out nearly two months before to attract foxes, of which we caught black and red ones, like those in

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this, inasmuch as, ordinarily, this carrion was set upon by them. These savages went to the tree, and, since they were too weak to climb it, cut it down and at once took away the dog, which was nothing but skin and bones, with the head tainted and smelling bad; and it was at once devoured.

This is the pleasure that they have the most often in winter. In summer they are able to support themselves, and to get provisions, so as not to be attacked by such extreme need, from the rivers, which are full of fish, and from hunting birds and wild animals. The soil is very fine and good for cultivation, if only they would take the trouble to sow Indian corn, as all their neighbors do—the Algonquins, Hurons and Iroquois—who are not assailed with so cruel famines, because they know how to provide against them by the care and foresight that they exercise; with the result that they live happily, compared with these Montagnais, Canadians[2] and Souriquois who live along the seacoast. The snow and ice stay on the ground five months; that is, from the month of December until toward the end of April, when it is almost

[2]The name applied in Champlain's time to the Indians along the St. Lawrence, below the Saguenay. L.

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the air was still pretty cold until into May, when the trees began to put forth their leaves.[5]

CHAPTER VII

Journey from Quebec to the Island of St. Eloi, and the meeting that I had with some Algonquin and Ochtaiguin savages.

WITH this purpose[1] I departed on the eighteenth of the month. The river begins to widen here, sometimes to a league and even a league and a half in some places. The country becomes more and more beautiful. The banks of the river are partly hills and partly level land without rocks, except a very few. As for the river, it is dangerous in many places, because of sandbars and rocks, and is not good to sail in without the lead in hand. The river is very abundantly supplied with several sorts of

[5]Champlain omits here the account of the scurvy which he gave in the narrative of 1613. Cf. *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 197-200; Laverdière, *Voyages, 1613*, 170-172.

[1]That is, to explore the country of the Iroquois. June 7 Champlain had left Quebec, to go to Tadoussac on business; he now returned and is starting from Quebec, June 18. See references in preceding note.

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the tide is one-third flood to pass, when the current in the channel is 6, 8, 10, 12 and 15 fathoms deep.

Continuing our course we came to a river which is very pleasant. It is nine leagues from St. Croix and twenty-four from Quebec. We named it St. Mary's River.[3] The whole length of this river from St. Croix is very beautiful.

Continuing our route I met two or three hundred savages, who were in cabins near a little island called St. Eloi, a league and a half from St. Mary. We investigated and found that they were some tribes of savages called Ochateguins[4] and Algonquins, who were going to Quebec, to assist us in exploration of the countries of the Iroquois, against whom they carry on mortal combat, sparing nothing that belongs to them.

After having recognized them I went ashore to see them and asked who their chief was. They told me that they had two of them—one named Iroquet and the other Ochasteguin, whom they pointed out to me —and I went to their cabin, where they received me well, according to their custom. I began to explain to them the purpose of

[3]Now the Ste. Anne. L.
[4]The Hurons.

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my journey, with
much pleased; anc
things, I withdrew
they came to my s
me accept some
many signs of ple
turned to land.

The next day th
me. Then they re
out saying a word,
constantly. After
over, they began
voice all their comp
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they had been at v
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enemy had shown
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always desired ver
they had asked all
of the river to con
ance with us, and
Christians, which h
come to see us, ar

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wished with them and their companions; that they had no children with them, but men who knew how to fight and were full of courage, and who were familiar with the country and the rivers in the country of the Iroquois; and that now they begged me to return to our settlement, that they might see our houses; that after three days we should return all together to the war, and that for a sign of great friendship and joy I should have muskets and arquebuses fired, and that they would be very much pleased; which I did. They gave great cries of astonishment, and especially those who never had heard nor seen them before.

After I had heard them I replied to them that to please them I should be very glad to go back to our settlement, to give them more pleasure, and that they might infer that I had no other intention than to engage in war, since I carried with me nothing but arms, and not merchandise for barter, as they had been led to understand; that my desire was only to accomplish that which I had promised them; and that if I had known of any one who had made evil reports to them, I should regard such as enemies more than they themselves did. They told me that they did not believe any of it, and that they had heard nothing said;

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Quebec, to assist the savages. On the first of June[1] we reached St. Croix, 15 leagues from Quebec, with a shallop equipped with all I needed.

I left St. Croix on June [July] 3, with all the savages, and we passed the Trois Rivières,[2] which is a very beautiful country, covered with a great many beautiful trees. From this place to St. Croix it is 15 leagues. At the mouth of this river there are six islands, of which three are very small and the others from 1500 to 1600 paces long, very pleasant to look at; and near Lake St. Peter, about two leagues up the river, there is a small rapid, which is not very difficult to pass. This place is in latitude 46 degrees, less some minutes. The savages of the country gave us to understand that some days' journey off there is a lake through which the river passes. The lake is ten days' journey long,[3] and then one passes some falls, and afterward three or four more lakes five or six days' journey long; and at the end there are four or five leagues by land and then one enters directly into another lake, where the Sa-

[1]This should be July.

[2]The river is now the St. Maurice. The town is Three Rivers. It is at the head of tidewater.

[3]Lake Ontario.

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of fish. On the north side land can be seen some 12 or 15 leagues from the lake, which is rather mountainous. Having crossed the lake we passed by a great number of islands of different sizes, where there are a great many nut trees and vines, and beautiful meadows, with quantities of game and wild animals, which come from the mainland to these islands. The fish there are more plentiful than in any other place in the river that we have seen. From these islands we went to the mouth of the River of the Iroquois,[9] where we stayed two days and refreshed ourselves with good venison, birds and fish, which the savages gave us. Here there was some controversy among them on the subject of the war, with the result that there were only a certain number of them who decided to go with me, and the others returned to their country with their wives and the merchandise that they had got in trade.

Starting from the mouth of this river, which is about 400 or 500 paces wide and is very beautiful, running southward,[10] we reached a place which is in latitude 45°, about 22 or 23 leagues from Trois Rivi-

[9]The Richelieu.

[10]The Richelieu runs north. Champlain, however, often speaks of the course of a river in this

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and nut trees. Up to this time no Christians had been as far as this place except us, and we had a good deal of trouble getting up the river with oars.

As soon as I had reached the rapids I took five men and we went ashore to see if we could get by this place, and we went about a league and a half without seeing any chance of it, unless we should venture in water running with great rapidity, where on both sides there were a great many stones which are very dangerous, and where the water was very shallow. The rapids may be 600 feet wide. And when we saw that it was impossible to cut the trees and make a way, with the few men that I had, I decided, by the advice of each of them, to do something different from what we had promised, inasmuch as the savages had assured me that the roads were easy; but we found the contrary true, which I have already said, which was why we returned from them to our shallop, where I had left some men to guard it, and to tell the savages, when they should arrive, that we had gone to explore along this rapid.

When we had seen what we wished to of this place, as we were returning we met some savages who had come to explore as we had done. They told us that all their

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companions had reached our shallop. T
we found them much pleased and sati
that we had gone in this way witho
guide, except for the reports that they
several times given us.

Having come back, and having seen
little chance there was of passing the
ids with our shallop, I was troubled; a
was much disappointed to return wit
having seen a large lake filled with be
ful islands and a great deal of beat
country bordering the lakes, where
enemies live, as they had represented
me. After thinking things over by m
I resolved to go there to fulfill my prc
and the desire that I felt, and I set out
the savages in their canoes and took
me two men who volunteered. For
our men saw, in good earnest, that
tended to go with their canoes, their h
failed them, which resulted in my ser
them back to Tadoussac.

I went directly to speak to the cap
of the savages, and gave them to u
stand that they had told us the contra
what I had seen at the rapids, namely
it was beyond our power to go up it wi
shallop; nevertheless, that this woul
hinder me from aiding them as I had
ised. This news saddened them very

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and they wished to make another decision; but I told them and urged upon them that they ought to hold to their first plan; and that I, with two others, would go to the war with them in their canoes, to show them that, as for myself, I would not fail to keep my word to them, although I should be alone; and that, at that time, I did not wish to force any one of my companions to embark except those who volunteered, of whom I had found two, that I would take with me.

They were very much pleased at what I told them, and at hearing the decision that I had made, and they kept promising to show me beautiful things.

CHAPTER IX

Departure from the rapids of the Iroquois River. Description of a large lake. Of the encounter with the enemy that we had at this lake, and of the manner in which they attacked the Iroquois.

I LEFT these rapids of the Iroquois River on July 2.[1] All the savages began to carry

[1]This date in all probability should be the 12th. L.

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their canoes, arms and baggage by land about half a league, in order to get by the swiftness and force of the rapids. This was quickly accomplished.

Then they put them all in the water, and two men in each boat, with their baggage; and they made one of the men from each canoe go by land about a league and a half, the length of the rapid, which is not so violent as at its mouth, except in certain places where rocks obstruct the river, which is not more than 300 or 400 paces wide. After we had passed the rapid, which was not without difficulty, all the savages who had gone by land by a pretty good path and level country, although there were a great many trees, re-embarked in their canoes. My men went by land, too, and I by water, in a canoe. They had a review of all their men and found that they had twenty-four canoes, with sixty men in them. When they had had their review, we continued on our way as far as an island three leagues long,[2] covered with the most beautiful pines that I had ever seen. They hunted, and caught some wild animals there. Going on farther, about three leagues from there, we encamped, to rest that night.

Immediately they all began, some to cut

[2]Sainte-Thérèse. L.

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wood, others to strip off the bark of trees to cover their cabins, to provide shelter for themselves; others began to fell big trees for a barricade on the bank of the river about their cabins. They know so well how to do this that in less than two hours five hundred of their enemy would have had a good deal of trouble to attack them without losing a great many of their number. They do not barricade the side toward the river, where their canoes are drawn up, so as to be able to embark, if occasion requires.

When they were lodged they sent three canoes with nine good men, as is their custom in all their encampments, to reconnoitre for two or three leagues, to see if they can discover anything. Later these come back. They sleep all night, relying upon the exploration of these scouts, which is a very bad custom among them; for sometimes they are surprised while asleep by their enemies, who knock them in the head before they have a chance to get up to defend themselves.

Being aware of that, I explained to them the mistake that they were making, and told them that they ought to watch, as they had seen us do every night, and have men on the lookout, to listen and see if they saw anything; and that they should not live like

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beasts. They told me that they could not keep watch, and that they worked enough by day in hunting; and, above all, when they go to war, they divide their bands into three parts, viz., one part to hunt, distributed in various places; one to constitute the main body, who are always under arms; and the other part as scouts, to explore along the rivers, to see if there is any mark or sign to indicate that their enemies have passed, or their friends. This they recognize by certain marks that the chiefs of different tribes exchange. These are not always alike, and they inform themselves from time to time when they are changed. In this way they recognize whether those who have passed are friends or enemies. The hunters never hunt in advance of the main body, or of the scouts, in order not to cause alarm or disorder, but in the rear, and in the direction where they do not expect their enemies; and they continue thus until they are two or three days' journey from their enemies, when they go at night by stealth, all in a body, except the scouts. And by day they retire within the thickest part of the woods, where they rest, without wandering off, or making any noise, or lighting any fire, even when necessary for food, during this time, in order not to be

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noticed if, by chance, their enemies should pass. They do not make any fire, except for smoking; and they eat Indian meal cooked, which they soak in water, like porridge. They preserve this meal for times of need, and when they are near their enemies, or when they are retreating after an attack, they do not care to hunt, but retreat at once.

In all their encampments they have their Pilotois, or Ostemoy, a kind of persons who act as soothsayers, in whom these people believe. The soothsayer builds a cabin surrounded by sticks of wood, and covers it with his robe. When it is done he ensconces himself inside in such a way that he cannot be seen at all; then he takes hold of one of the posts of his cabin and shakes it, muttering some words between his teeth, by which he says he invokes the devil, who appears to him in the form of a stone and tells him whether they will find their enemies and kill many of them. This Pilotois lies flat on the ground, motionless, only making believe to speak to the devil; then suddenly he rises to his feet, talking and writhing in such a way that, although he is naked, he is all in a perspiration. All the people are about the cabin, seated on their buttocks like monkeys. They told me often that the shaking

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of the cabin that I saw was caused by the devil and not by the man who was inside, although I observed the contrary; for it was (as I have already said) the Pilotois who seized one of the props of the cabin and made it move so. They also told me that I should see fire come out of the top, which I did not see at all. These rogues also disguise their voices and make them sound big and clear and speak in a language that is unfamiliar to the other savages; and when they make it sound broken the savages believe that it is the devil who speaks, and that he is saying what is to happen in their war, and what they must do. Nevertheless, all these rascals who play soothsayer do not speak two true words out of a hundred and impose upon these poor folk, like plenty of others in the world, in order to get their living from the people. I often admonished them that all that they did was sheer folly, and that they ought not to put faith in it.[8]

Now, after they have learned from their soothsayers what is to happen to them, they take as many sticks, a foot long, as they

[8] "This mode of divination was universal among the Algonquin tribes, and is not extinct to this day among their roving Northern bands." Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 344.

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themselves number, and represent their chiefs by others a little longer. Then they go into the woods and clear a place five or six feet square, where the chief, as field sergeant, arranges all the sticks in the order that seems good to him; then he calls all his companions, who all come armed, and shows them the rank and order that they are to keep when they fight with their enemies. All the savages watch this attentively, noticing the figure which their chief has made with these sticks, and afterward they retire and begin to arrange themselves as they have seen these sticks, and then mingle with one another, and return directly to their order; continuing this two or three times, and doing it at all their encampments, without needing a sergeant to make them keep in their ranks, which they know well how to keep, without getting into confusion. This is the rule that they abide by in their warfare.

We left the next day, continuing our course in the river as far as the entrance to the lake. In this there are many pretty islands, which are low, covered with very beautiful woods and meadows, where there is a quantity of game, and animals for hunting, such as stags, fallow-deer, fawns, roebucks, bears and other animals which come

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from the mainland to these islands. We caught a great many of them. There are also many beavers, not only in this river, but in many other little ones which empty into it. These places, although they are pleasant, are not inhabited by any savages, on account of their wars. They withdraw as far as possible from the river into the interior, in order not to be suddenly surprised.

The next day we entered the lake, which is of great extent, perhaps 50 or 60 leagues long.[4] There I saw four beautiful islands 10, 12 and 15 leagues long,[5] which formerly had been inhabited by savages, like the River of the Iroquois; but they had been abandoned since they had been at war with one another. There are also several rivers which flow into the lake that are bordered by many fine trees, of the same sorts that we have in France, with a quantity of vines more beautiful than any I had seen in any other place; many chestnut trees, and I have not seen any at all before, except on the shores of the lake, where there is a great abundance of fish of a good many varieties. Among other kinds there is one called by

[4]Lake Champlain is about 90 miles long.

[5]These dimensions are overstated three-fold, S. The islands were Isle la Motte, Long Island, Grand Isle, and Valcour. L.

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the savages Chaousarou,[6] which is of various lengths; but the longest, as these people told me, is eight or ten feet. I saw some of them five feet long, as big as a man's thigh, with a head as large as two fists, a snout two and a half feet long, and a double row of very sharp and dangerous teeth. Its body is, in all respects, like that of the pike, but it is armed with scales so strong that a dagger could not pierce them, and it is silver grey in color. And the end of its snout is like that of a pig. This fish fights all the others in the lakes and rivers, and is wonderfully cunning, to judge from what the people have assured me, which is, that when it wishes to catch certain birds, it goes into the rushes or weeds which border the lake in several places, and puts its snout out of the water without moving at all, so that when the birds come to light on its snout, thinking that it is the trunk of a tree, the fish is so skillful in closing its snout, which had been half open, that it draws the birds under the water by the feet. The savages gave me a head of one of them. They set great store by them, saying that when they have a headache they bleed themselves with the teeth of this

[6]The gar pike, or bony-scaled pike. See the note in *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 216.

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fish where the pain is, and it passes off at once.

Continuing our course in this lake on the west side I saw, as I was observing the country, some very high mountains on the east side, with snow on the top of them.[7] I inquired of the savages if these places were inhabited. They told me that they were—by the Iroquois—and that in these places there were beautiful valleys and open stretches fertile in grain, such as I had eaten in this country, with a great many other fruits; and that the lake went near some mountains, which were perhaps, as it seemed to me, about fifteen leagues from us. I saw on the south others not less high than the first, but they had no snow at all.[8] The savages told me that it was there that we were to go to find their enemies, and that these mountains were thickly peopled. They also said it was necessary to pass a rapid,[9] which I saw afterward, and from there to enter another lake, three or four leagues long;[10]

[7]The Green Mountains. Mr. Slafter thinks Champlain took outcroppings of white limestone for snow. The Green Mountains would not have snow on them in July, as they are only about 4000 feet high.

[8]The Adirondacks.

[9]The outlet of Lake George.

[10]Lake George.

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and that when we had reached the end of that it would be necessary to follow a trail for four leagues, and to pass over a river[11] which empties on the coast of the Almouchiquois,[12] near the coast of Norumbegue;[13] and that it was only two days' journey by their canoes, as I have [also] learned since from some prisoners that we took, who described to me very much in detail all that they had found out themselves about the matter through some Algonquin interpreters who knew the Iroquois language.

Now, as we began to approach within two or three days' journey of the home of their enemies, we did not advance more, except at night, and by day we rested. Nevertheless, they did not omit, at any time, the practice of their customary superstitions, to find out how much of their undertakings would succeed, and they often came to me to ask if I had dreamed, and if I had seen their enemies. I answered them "no," and told them to be of good courage and to keep up hope. When night came we pur-

[11]The Hudson.

[12]The Massachusetts coast.

[13]Adopting Laverdière's emendation founded on the text of the 1613 narrative. The text of the 1632 narrative merely repeats Almouchiquois twice.

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sued our journey until daylight, when we withdrew into the thickest part of the woods and passed the rest of the day there. About ten or eleven o'clock, after having taken a little walk around our encampment, I went to rest; and I dreamed that I saw the Iroquois, our enemies, in the lake, near a mountain, drowning within our sight; and when I wished to help them our savage allies told me that we must let them all die, and that they were worthless. When I woke up they did not fail to ask me, as is their custom, if I had dreamed anything. I told them the substance of what I had dreamed. This gave them so much faith that they no longer doubted that good was to befall them.

When evening came we embarked in our canoes to continue on our way; and, as we were going along very quietly, and without making any noise, on the twenty-ninth of the month,[14] we met the Iroquois at ten o'clock at night at the end of a cape that projects into the lake on the west side,[15] and they were coming to war. We both began to make loud cries, each getting his arms ready. We withdrew toward the water and the Iroquois went ashore and ar-

[14] July 29, 1609.

[15] At Ticonderoga.

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ranged their canoes in line, and began to cut down trees with poor axes, which they get in war sometimes, and also with others of stone; and they barricaded themselves very well.

Our men also passed the whole night with their canoes drawn up close together, fastened to poles, so that they might not get scattered, and might fight all together, if there were need of it; we were on the water within arrow range of the side where their barricades were.

When they were armed and in array, they sent two canoes set apart from the others to learn from their enemies if they wanted to fight. They replied that they desired nothing else; but that, at the moment, there was not much light and that they must wait for the daylight to recognize each other, and that as soon as the sun rose they would open the battle. This was accepted by our men; and while we waited, the whole night was passed in dances and songs, as much on one side as on the other, with endless insults, and other talk, such as the little courage they had, their feebleness and inability to make resistance against their arms, and that when day came they should feel it to their ruin. Our men also were not lacking in retort, telling them that they should see such

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power of arms as never before; and much other talk, as is customary in the siege of a city. After plenty of singing, dancing, and parleying with one another, daylight came. My companions and I remained concealed for fear that the enemy should see us, preparing our arms the best that we could, separated, however, each in one of the canoes of the Montagnais savages. After arming ourselves with light armor, each of us took an arquebuse and went ashore. I saw the enemy come out of their barricade, nearly 200 men, strong and robust to look at, coming slowly toward us with a dignity and assurance that pleased me very much. At their head there were three chiefs. Our men also went forth in the same order, and they told me that those who wore three large plumes were the chiefs; and that there were only three of them; and that they were recognizable by these plumes, which were a great deal larger than those of their companions; and that I should do all I could to kill them. I promised them to do all in my power, and said that I was very sorry that they could not understand me well, so that I might give order and system to their attack of the enemy, in which case we should undoubtedly destroy them all; but that this could not be remedied; that I was very glad

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to encourage them and to show them the good-will that I felt, when we should engage in battle.

As soon as we were ashore they began to run about 200 paces toward their enemy, who were standing firmly and had not yet noticed my companions, who went into the woods with some savages. Our men began to call me with loud cries; and, to give me a passageway, they divided into two parts and put me at their head, where I marched about twenty paces in front of them until I was thirty paces from the enemy. They at once saw me and halted, looking at me, and I at them. When I saw them making a move to shoot at us, I rested my arquebuse against my cheek and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs. With the same shot two of them fell to the ground, and one of their companions, who was wounded and afterward died. I put four balls into my arquebuse. When our men saw this shot so favorable for them, they began to make cries so loud that one could not have heard it thunder. Meanwhile the arrows did not fail to fly from both sides. The Iroquois were much astonished that two men had been so quickly killed, although they were provided with armor woven from cotton thread and from wood, proof against their

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arrows. This alarmed them greatly. As I was loading again, one of my companions fired a shot from the woods, which astonished them again to such a degree that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage, took to flight and abandoned the field and their fort, fleeing into the depths of the woods. Pursuing them thither I killed some more of them. Our savages also killed several of them and took ten or twelve of them prisoners. The rest escaped with the wounded. There were fifteen or sixteen of our men wounded by arrow shots, who were soon healed.

After we had gained the victory they amused themselves by taking a great quantity of Indian corn and meal from their enemies, and also their arms, which they had left in order to run better. And having made good cheer, danced and sung, we returned three hours afterward with the prisoners.

This place, where this charge was made, is in latitude 43 degrees and some minutes, and I named the lake Lake Champlain.

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CHAPTER X

Return from the battle, and what happened on the way.

After going eight leagues, toward evening they took one of the prisoners and harangued him about the cruelties that he and his people had inflicted on them, without having any consideration for them; and said that similarly he ought to make up his mind to receive as much. They commanded him to sing, if he had any courage; which he did, but it was a song very sad to hear.

Meanwhile our men lighted a fire, and when it was blazing well, each one took a brand and burned this poor wretch little by little, to make him suffer greater torment. Sometimes they stopped and threw water on his back. Then they tore out his nails and put the fire on the ends of his fingers and on his privy member. Afterward they flayed the top of his head and dripped on top of it a kind of gum all hot; then they pierced his arms near the wrists, and with sticks pulled the sinews, and tore them out by force; and when they saw that they could not get them, they cut them. This poor

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wretch uttered strange cries, and I pitied him when I saw him treated in this way; and yet he showed such endurance that one would have said that, at times, he did not feel any pain.

They strongly urged me to take some fire and do as they were doing, but I explained to them that we did not use such cruelties at all, and that we killed them at once, and that if they wished me to fire a musket shot at him I would do it gladly. They said "no," and that he would not feel any pain. I went away from them, distressed to see so much cruelty as they were practising upon this body. When they saw that I was not pleased at it, they called me and told me to fire a musket shot at him; which I did without his seeing it at all. After he was dead they were not satisfied, for they opened his belly and threw his entrails into the lake; then they cut off his head, his arms, and his legs, which they scattered in different directions, and kept the scalp, which they had skinned off, as they had done with all the others that they had killed in the battle.

They committed also another wickedness, which was to take the heart, which they cut into several pieces and gave to a brother of his and others of his companions, who were prisoners, to eat. They put it into their

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mouths, but would not swallow it. Some Algonquin savages, who were guarding them, made some of them spit it out and threw it into the water. This is how these people treat those whom they capture in war; and it would be better for them to die in fighting, or to kill themselves on the spur of the moment, as there are many who do, rather than fall into the hands of their enemies. After this execution we resumed our march to return with the rest of the prisoners, who always went along singing, without any hope of being better treated than the other. When we arrived at the rapids of the River of the Iroquois,[1] the Algonquins returned to their country, and also the Ochateguins[2] with some of the prisoners. They were well pleased with what had taken place in the war, and that I had gone with them readily. So we separated with great protestations of friendship, and they asked me if I did not wish to go into their country to aid them always as a brother. I promised that I would do so, and I returned with the Montagnais.

After informing myself, through the prisoners, about their country, and about how large it might be, we packed up the bag-

[1]The Richelieu.
[2]Hurons.

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gage to return; which we did with such speed that every day we made 25 or 30 leagues in their canoes, which is the ordinary rate.[3] When we were at the mouth of the River Iroquois, there were some of the savages who dreamed that their enemies were pursuing them. This dream at once led them to move the camp, although the night was very bad on account of winds and rain; and they went to pass the night among some high reeds, which are in Lake St. Peter, until the next day. Two days afterward we reached our settlement, where I had them given bread, peas and beads, which they asked me for to ornament the heads[4] of their enemies, in order to make

[3]This is an overstatement, unless it means with a rapid current.

[4]Here, apparently in the sense of scalps. Champlain uses "teste," "head," where we should expect "chevelure," which was used for "scalp" by the later writers.

It is possible that he used the word (or form) "test" which is recorded in Cotgrave's *French and English Dictionary*, 1673, as meaning "the scalp or skull of the head," and that the printer set it up "teste." In Robert Sherwood's *Dictionary English and French*, 1672, the definition of the hairy scalp is: "Perecraine; tais, test, tests." In James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton: An English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary*, London, 1660, the definition is the same, except that the second word is spelled "teste." There would be

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merry on their arrival. The next day I went with them in their canoes to Tadoussac, to see their ceremonies. As they approached the shore each one took a stick with the heads of their enemies hung on the ends, with these beads on them, singing one and all. When they were near the shore the women undressed entirely naked and threw themselves into the water, going in front of the canoes, to take the heads to hang afterward to their necks, like a precious chain. Some days afterward they made me a present of one of these heads and of two sets of their enemies' weapons, to preserve, in order to show them to the King; which I promised to do, to give them pleasure.

no need of discussing this point except for the fact that Champlain's words might be taken as evidence that the Canadian Indians beheaded their captives, as was true of the New England Indians.

On this question see *"The Scalp Trophy,"* by Francis C. Clark, The Magazine of History, January, 1906, 29-39, and February, 1906, 105-114. That the Canadian Indians practiced scalping in Cartier's time (1535) is proved by his remark, "et nous fut par ledict Donnacona monstré les peaulx de cinq testes d'homme estandus sur du boys cõme paulx de p̃chermin" (*Bref Recit.*, Tross ed., 29), and by Champlain's remark, p. 215, above. His other references to scalping will be found below, p. 225; vol. II, pp. 2, 31, 160.

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CHAPTER XI

Defeat of the Iroquois near the mouth of this River Iroquois.

IN the year 1610,[1] when I had gone with a bark and some men from Quebec to the mouth of the River Iroquois, to wait for 400 savages, who were to join me, so that I might aid them in another war, which turned out to be more imminent than we thought, an Algonquin savage in a canoe came swiftly to warn me that the Algonquins had encountered the Iroquois, who numbered one hundred, and that they were well barricaded, and that it would be hard

[1]Champlain returned to France in the fall of 1609, setting out from Tadoussac Sept. 5 and arriving at Honfleur Oct. 13. He had interviews with De Monts and with the King, Henry IV, and set out on his return from Honfleur March 7. He arrived at Tadoussac April 26. Two days later he started for Quebec. A war party of Montagnais soon appeared at Quebec and reminded Champlain of his promises of the previous year. He kept his word, starting June 14, and in this narrative takes up the thread at his arrival at the mouth of the Richelieu. See *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 227-238; Laverdière, *Voyages, 1613*, 200-212.

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to get the upper hand of them if the Misthigosches (as they call us) did not come promptly.

At once the alarm began among some of the savages, and each one jumped into his canoe with his arms. They were promptly ready, but in confusion; for they hurried so, that, instead of advancing, they delayed themselves. They came to our bark, begging me to go with them in their canoes, and my companions also, and urged me so hard that I embarked in one with four others. I asked La Routte, who was our pilot, to stay in the bark and send me four or five more of my companions.

When we had gone about half a league across the river, all the savages went ashore and, abandoning their canoes, took their shields, bows, arrows, clubs and swords, which they fasten to the end of big sticks, and began to run into the woods in such a way that we soon lost them from view, and they left us five without a guide. Nevertheless, we kept following them and went about half a league into the thick woods, into fens and marshes, always with water to our knees, each armed with the corselet of a pikeman, which was very burdensome. Besides, there were quantities of mosquitoes so thick that they scarcely allowed us to

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catch our breath at all; they persecuted us so much and so cruelly that it was a strange experience. Nor did we know where we were until we noticed two savages crossing the woods. We called them, and told them that they must stay with us to guide us and conduct us to where the Iroquois were, and that otherwise we could not go there, and we should lose our way. This they did. After going a little way, we noticed a savage coming swiftly to look for us, to have us advance as quickly as possible. He gave me to understand that the Algonquins and the Montagnais had tried to force the barricade, and that they had been repulsed and the best men of the Montagnais had been killed and several others wounded. They had withdrawn to wait for us, and their hope was altogether in us. We had not gone more than an eighth of a league with this savage, who was the captain of the Algonquins, when we heard the yells and cries of both, calling one another names, and at the same time skirmishing lightly while they waited for us. As soon as the savages saw us, they began to shout in such a way that one would not have heard it thunder. I ordered my companions to follow me all the time, and not to separate from me at all. I went near to the barricade of the enemy to

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explore it. It was made of heavy trees set close together in a circle, which is the usual shape of their fortresses. All the Montagnais and Algonquins also approached this barricade. Then we began to discharge a great many musket shots through the foliage, since we could not see them as they could us. I was wounded as I was shooting the first time into the side of their barricade, by an arrow shot which slit the end of my ear and entered my neck. I took hold of it and pulled it out; it was barbed on the end with a very sharp stone. Another of my companions was wounded at the same time in the arm by another arrow, which I pulled out for him. Nevertheless, my wound did not prevent me from doing my duty, nor our savages from doing their part; and likewise the enemy, to such a degree that the arrows were seen flying from one side and the other as thick as hail. The Iroquois were astonished at the noise of our muskets, and especially at the fact that the balls pierced better than their arrows; and they were so frightened at the effect of them, when they saw several of their companions fall dead and wounded, that, on account of their fear, thinking these shots could not be cured, they threw themselves on the ground when they heard the noise;

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and we hardly missed a shot and fired two or three balls at a time, and most of the time we had our muskets resting on the edge of their barricade. When I saw that our ammunition was beginning to fail, I said to all the savages that they must overcome them by force and break their barricade; and to do this they must take their shields and cover themselves with them, and thus get so near that ropes could be tied to the posts which held them up, and then, by main strength, they could pull hard enough to throw them over, and by this means make a big enough opening to get into their fort; and that, meanwhile, we would keep back the enemy by musket shots when they came out to stop our men; and also that a certain number should go behind some big trees that were near this barricade, in order to throw them over on them to crush them; that others should protect them with their shields, to prevent the enemy from injuring them, which they did promptly. And as they were about to accomplish it, the bark, which was a league and a half from us, heard us fighting, through the echo of our muskets, which resounded as far off as they were; this led a young man from St. Malo, full of courage, called Des Prairies, who had his bark near us to trade in skins, to say

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to all those who were there that it was a great shame for them to see me fighting in this way with the savages, without coming to my aid, and that, for his part, he had too much regard for his honor, and did not wish any one to be able to reproach him in this way, and thereupon he decided to come to me in a shallop with some of his companions, and of mine, whom he took with him. As soon as he arrived he went toward the fort of the Iroquois, which was on the bank of the river. There he went ashore and came to find me. When I saw him I ordered the savages who were breaking down the fortress, to stop, so that the newcomers might have their part of the pleasure. I begged Sieur des Prairies and his companions to fire some salutes of the musket before our savages should take the enemy by storm, as they had decided to do; this they did, and they shot several times, each one doing his duty. When they had shot enough I addressed our savages and incited them to complete the work. Immediately approaching the barricade, as they had done before, with us on their flank, to shoot at any who should try to hinder the destruction, they bore themselves so well and so valorously that, with the help of our muskets, they made an opening in it, though it

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was one hard to get through, since it was the height of a man from the ground and there were the branches of the trees that had been felled, which were very troublesome. However, when I saw a sufficiently practicable entrance, I gave orders not to fire any more, which were obeyed. At the same moment twenty or thirty, not only of savages, but our men, went in, sword in hand, scarcely meeting any resistance. At once all who were sound began to flee, but they did not go far, for they were cut down by those who were around the barricade, and those who escaped were drowned in the river. We took fifteen prisoners and the rest were killed by musket shots, by arrows and by swords. When this was done there came another shallop with some of our companions in it, who were too late, although in time enough to strip the booty. This did not amount to much, for there was nothing but robes of beaver on dead bodies covered with blood, which the savages would not take the trouble to plunder, and they laughed at those who did it, namely, those in the last shallop. Having gained the victory by the grace of God, they gave us much praise.

These savages scalped the heads of their dead enemies, as they are accustomed to do,

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as a trophy of their victory, and took them away. They returned with fifty of their own men wounded, and three of the Montagnais and Algonquins dead, singing, their prisoners with them. They hung these heads[2] on sticks in front of their canoes, and a dead body cut into quarters, to eat in revenge,[2] as they said; and they came in this way to where our barks were, near the mouth of the River of the Iroquois.

My companions and I set sail in a shallop, where I had my wound dressed. I asked the savages for an Iroquois prisoner, whom they gave me. I saved him from a good many tortures that he would have suffered, such as they inflicted upon his companions, whose nails they tore out, whose fingers they cut off, and whom they burned in many places. That day they killed three of them in this way. They took others to the edge of the water and fastened them all erect to a stake, then each one came with a torch of birch bark and burned him now in one place, now in another; and these poor wretches, when they felt the fire, shrieked so loud that it was a strange thing to hear

[2]Here, meaning scalps.

[2]See Parkman's note, *Pioneers of New France*, 359, on ceremonial or superstitious cannibalism among the Indians.

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them. After making them suffer in this way, they took some water and threw it over their bodies, to make them suffer more; then they applied the fire again in such a way that the skin fell from their bodies, and they continued to cry out loudly and to exclaim, dancing until these poor unfortunates fell dead on the spot.

As soon as a body fell to the ground they beat it with heavy blows of a stick, then cut off the arms and legs and other parts of it, and he was not regarded as a man of importance among them who did not cut off a piece of the flesh and give it to the dogs. Nevertheless, all these tortures were endured with such firmness that those who look on are astonished.

As for the other prisoners who remained, whether to the Algonquins or the Montagnais, they were kept to be killed by the hands of their wives and daughters, who in this do not show themselves any less inhuman than the men, and they even surpass them in cruelty; for, by their cunning, they invent more cruel tortures and take pleasure in making them end their lives thus.

The next day Captain Iroquet arrived, and another Ochateguin, who had eighty

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men with him, and they were very sorry not to have been at the defeat. Among all these nations there were very nearly two hundred men who never had seen Christians before, and they wondered at them greatly.

We were together three days at an island of the River of the Iroquois; then each nation returned to his own country. I had a young fellow[4] who had passed two winters at Quebec, who had a wish to go with the Algonquins to learn their language, get acquainted with the country, see the great lake, observe the rivers, and what people inhabited it; also to explore the mines and the rarer things of this place, so that, on his return, he could give us information about all these things. I asked him if he was agreeable to it, for it was not my wish to force him to it. I went to find Captain Iroquet, who was very affectionate to me, and asked him if he wished to take this young fellow with him into his country, to pass the winter, and bring him back in the spring. He promised me to do it, and treat him like his son. He told it to the Algon-

[4]Apparently Etienne Brulé. Laverdière, *Voyages, 1632*, part I, 178. For Brulé's later history see C. W. Butterfield, *Stephen Brulé*, Cleveland, 1898.

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quins, who were not too pleased, for fear some accident should befall him.

When I had shown them how much I wished it, they said to me that since I had that wish that they would take him and treat him like a child of their own. They obliged me also to take a young man in his place to carry to France, in order to report to them what he should see. I accepted the proposition gladly, and was very much pleased with it. He was of the tribe of the Ochateguins called Hurons. This gave them the more reason for treating my boy well, whom I provided with what he needed; and we promised one another to meet again at the end of June.

Some days afterward this Iroquois prisoner, whom I had under guard, on account of the excess of liberty that I allowed him, got away and escaped, because of the fear and terror that he felt, in spite of the assurances given him by a woman of his tribe, whom we had at our settlement.

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CHAPTER XII

Description of whaling in New France.

IT[1] has seemed to me not inappropriate to give here a short description of whale fishing, which many people have not seen and believe to be done by cannon shots, since there are bold liars who affirm as much to those who know nothing of it. Many have obstinately maintained it to me, on account of these false reports.

Those, then, who are most skillful in this fishery are the Basques,[2] who, for the purpose, put their ships in a safe harbor, near where they think there are a good many whales, and fit out shallops manned by good men and provided with lines, which are small ropes made of the best hemp that can be found, at least 150 fathoms long; and

[1]Champlain here omits the details of his return to Quebec and of his leaving there Aug. 8 and Tadoussac Aug. 13 for France. He takes up the thread with this description of whaling. Cf. *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 249-252.

[2]The hardy sailors of the Basque provinces in Spain had been engaged in fishing and whaling off Newfoundland since the time of the Cabot voyages.

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they have a great many partisans as long as a short pike, with the iron six inches wide. Others are a foot and a half wide and two feet long, very sharp. They have in each shallop a harpooner, who is the most agile and adroit man among them and draws the biggest wages next to the masters, inasmuch as his is the most dangerous position. As soon as this shallop is out of port, they look in every direction, tacking from one side to the other, to see if they can see and discover a whale. If they do not see anything, they go ashore and climb the highest point that they can find, to get a farther view. There they leave a man on the watch. He descries the whale, which is discovered both by its size and by the water that it spurts from its blow-holes, more than a hogshead at a time and to the height of two lances; and by the amount of water that it spurts they judge how much oil it can yield. There are some from which they draw as much as 120 barrels; from others it is less.

Upon seeing this tremendous fish they embark promptly in their shallops and, by means of oars or the wind, proceed until they are above him. Seeing him under water, the harpooner at once goes to the prow of the shallop and with a harpoon, which

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is an iron two feet long and half a foot wide at the barbs, attached to a stick as long as a short pike, having in the middle a hole to which the line is fastened; and as soon as the harpooner sees his opportunity he throws his harpoon at the whale and strikes him well in the front, and, at once, when he feels the wound, he goes to the bottom. And if by chance, in turning, he strikes sometimes the shallop with his tail, or the men, he breaks them like glass. This is all the risk of being killed that they run in harpooning. But as soon as they have thrown the harpoon into him they pay out their line until the whale is at the bottom; and, sometimes, as they do not go down straight, they drag the shallop more than eight or nine leagues, going as fast as a horse; and they are obliged more often than not to cut their line, lest the whale drag them under water. When it goes straight to the bottom it stays there only a little while and then returns very quietly to the surface; and as fast as it rises they take in the line gently, and then, when he is at the top, two or three shallops get around him with partisans, with which they give him several blows; and when he feels the blows he sounds again immediately, shedding blood and growing so weak that he has

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no strength nor vitality any more; and when he rises again they succeed in killing him. When he is dead he does not go to the bottom again; and then they tie him with stout ropes and drag him ashore to the place where they do their trying out; that is, where they have the fat of this whale melted, to extract the oil from it.

This is the way in which they are caught, and not by cannon shots, as many think, as I have already said.

CHAPTER XIII

Departure of the author from Quebec. Mont Royal and its cliffs. Islands where potter's clay is found. Island of Ste. Hélène.

In the year 1611[1] I took back my savage to those of his tribe, who were to come to Sault St. Louis,[2] intending to get my

[1]Champlain arrived at Honfleur on his return Sept. 27, 1610. On March 1, 1611, he set sail from Honfleur on his return to New France. He here omits all details of the voyage, in particular the experiences with icebergs, told at some length in the earlier narrative. He reached Quebec May 21, on his way to the Sault St. Louis. Cf. *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 1-9.

[2]The Lachine Rapids.

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servant whom they had as a hostage. I left Quebec May 20 [21] and arrived at these great rapids on the 28th, where I did not find any savages, who had promised me to be there on the 20th of the month. I immediately went in a poor canoe with the savage that I had taken to France and one of our men. After having looked on all sides, not only in the woods, but also along the river bank, to find a suitable place for the site of a settlement, and to prepare a place in which to build, I went eight leagues by land, along the rapids through the woods, which are rather open, and as far as a lake,[8] where our savage took me. There I contemplated the country very much in detail. But in all that I saw I did not find any place at all more suitable than a little spot which is just where the barks and shallops can come easily, either with a strong wind or by a winding course, because of the strength of the current. Above this place (which we named La Place Royale), a league from Mont Royal, there are a great many little rocks and shoals, which are very dangerous. And near this Place Royale there is a little river running back a good way into the interior, all along which there are more than sixty acres of cleared land,

[8]The Lake of Two Mountains. L.

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like meadows,[4] where one might sow grain and make gardens. Formerly savages tilled there, but they abandoned them, on account of the usual wars that they had there. There are also a great number of other beautiful meadows, to support as many cattle as one wishes, and all the kinds of trees that we have in our forests at home, with a great many vines, walnuts,[5] plum trees, cherries, strawberries and other kinds which are very good to eat. Among others there is one very excellent, which has a sweet taste, resembling that of plantains (which is a fruit of the Indies), and is as white as snow, with a leaf like that of the nettle, and running on trees or the ground, like ivy. Fishing is very good there, and there are all the kinds that we have in France, and a great many others that we do not have, which are very good; as is also game of different

[4] The place selected by Champlain is now called Pointe à Callières. "It is the centre of the present city of Montreal. The Custom House now stands upon the site he chose, and the Montreal ocean steamships discharge their cargoes there. A little river, now covered in and used for drainage, fell in at that point, and on its banks were the clearings cultivated by the Hochelagans of Cartier before the great war drove them westwards." S. E. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence*, 262.

[5] Here, *noyers* probably describes butternuts.

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kinds; and hunting is good: stags, hinds, does, caribous, rabbits, lynxes, bears, beavers and other little animals which so abound that while we were at these rapids we never were without them.

After having made a careful exploration, then, and found this place one of the most beautiful on this river, I at once had the woods cut down and cleared from this Place Royale, to make it level and ready for building. Water can easily be made to flow around it, making a little island of it, and a settlement can be made there as one may wish.

There is a little island twenty fathoms from this Place Royale, which is about 100 paces long, where one could put up a good, well-defended set of buildings. There are also a great many meadows containing very good potter's clay, whether for bricks or to build with, which is a great convenience. I had some of it worked up, and made a wall of it four feet thick and from three to four feet high and ten fathoms long, to see how it would last through the winter when the floods came down, which, in my opinion, would not rise to this wall, although the land is about twelve feet above that river, which is quite high. In the middle of the river there is an island about three-quarters

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of a league in circumference, where a good and strong town could be built, and I named it Isle de Ste. Hélène.[6] These rapids descend into a sort of lake, where there are two or three islands and some beautiful meadows.

While waiting for the savages I had two gardens made: one in the meadows and the other in the woods which I had cleared; and the second day of June[7] I sowed some seeds in them, which came up in perfect condition, and in a little while, which showed the goodness of the soil.

I resolved to send Savignon, our savage, with another, to meet those of his country, in order to make them come quickly; and they hesitated to go in our canoe, which they distrusted, for it was not good for much.

On the seventh[8] I went to explore a little river,[9] by which sometimes the savages go to war, which leads to the rapids of the

[6] Laverdière suggests that this name occurred to Champlain from his recent marriage with Hélène Boullé, the daughter of Nicolas Boullé, secretary of the King's Chamber. *Voyages, 1613*, 245.

[7] 1611.

[8] Of June.

[9] The River St. Lambert.

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river of the Iroquois.[10] It is very pleasant, with meadows on it more than three leagues in circumference, and a great deal of land which could be tilled. It is one league from the great rapids[11] and a league and a half from Place Royale.

On the ninth our savage arrived. He had been a little way beyond the lake,[12] which is about ten leagues long, that I have seen before. He did not meet anything there, and could not go any farther, because their canoe gave out and they were obliged to return. They reported to us that above the rapids they saw an island where there were so many herons that the air was filled with them. There was a young man called Louis, who was a great lover of hunting, who when he heard that, wanted to go there to satisfy his curiosity, and earnestly begged our savage to take him there. This the savage consented to do, with a Montagnais chief, a very fine fellow, called Outetoucos. In the morning this Louis went to call the two savages, to go to this island of herons.

[10]The Richelieu. The route was up the St. Lambert, then down the Montreal into Chambly Basin, then up the Richelieu. L.

[11]The Sault St. Louis, familiar to the modern tourist as the Lachine Rapids.

[12]The Lake of the Two Mountains.

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They embarked in a canoe and went there. This island is in the middle of the rapids. There they took as many herons and other birds as they wished and re-embarked in their canoe. Outetoucos, against the wishes of the other savage, and such pressure as he could bring to bear, wished to pass through a place that was very dangerous, where the water falls nearly three feet, saying that formerly he had gone that way, which was false. He was a long time arguing with our savage, who wished to take him on the south side, along the mainland, where they had been oftenest accustomed to pass. Outetoucos did not want to do this, saying that there was no danger at all. When our savage saw that he was obstinate he yielded to his wish; but he told him that at least they must empty out some of the birds that were in the canoe, for it was too heavily loaded, or they would certainly fill with water and be lost. This he refused to do, saying that it would be time enough when they saw that there was danger for them. So they let themselves go in the current. When they reached the main fall of the rapids, they wished to get out of it and throw over their load; but there was no longer time, for the swiftness of the water overmastered them and they were im-

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mediately engulfed in the whirlpools of the rapids, which turned them around a thousand times, up and down, and did not release them for a long time. At last the violence of the water tired them out so much that this poor Louis, who did not know anything about swimming, lost his head, and as the canoe was under water he had to let go of it. When it came to the surface again the two others, who kept holding on to it, did not see our Louis any more, and so he died miserably.

When they had got beyond this fall, Outetoucos, being naked and having confidence in his power to swim, abandoned the canoe to get to the land, but as the water there was very swift he was drowned. For he was so tired out and overcome by the labor that he had had that it was impossible for him to save himself.

Our savage, Savignon, being more cautious, kept holding to the canoe firmly until it was in an eddy whither the current had carried it; and knew so well how to act, in spite of the effort and fatigue that he had undergone, that he came very quietly to land, where he threw the water out of the canoe. He returned in great fear that vengeance would be taken upon him, as they do toward one another; and

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he told us this story, which caused us sorrow.

The next day I went in another canoe to these rapids with this savage and another of our men, to see the place where they were lost, and also to try to recover their bodies. I assure you that when he showed me the spot my hair stood on end, and I was astonished that the dead men had been so rash and so lacking in sense as to pass through so terrible a place when they could go elsewhere; for it was impossible to pass there, for there are seven or eight falls where the water goes down as by steps, the lowest three feet high, and there is an extraordinary seething and boiling. A part of these rapids was all white with foam, and the noise was so great when the air resounded with the roar of the cataracts that it sounded like thunder. After having seen this place, and examined it in detail, we searched along the river for these bodies, while a rather light shallop was going on the other side, and we returned without finding them.

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CHAPTER XIV

Two hundred savages return the Frenchman who had been entrusted to them, and take back the savage who had returned from France. Various remarks by the author.

On the 13th of this month[1] two hundred Huron savages, with the chiefs, Ochateguin, Iroquet, and Tregouaroti, brother of our savage, brought back my lad. We were very glad to see them, and I went to meet them with a canoe and our savage. Meantime, they advanced quietly in order, our men preparing to give them a salvo with the arquebuses and some small pieces. As they were approaching they began to shout all together, and one of the chiefs commanded their address to be made, in which they praised us highly, calling us truthful, in that I had kept my word to them, to come to find them at these rapids. After they had given three more shouts, a volley of musketry was fired twice, which astonished them so much that they asked me to tell them that there should not be any shooting, saying that the greater number of them

[1] June 13, 1611.

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never had seen Christians before, nor heard thunderings of that sort, and that they were afraid of its doing them harm. They were very much pleased to see our savage well, for they had supposed him dead, on account of reports which some Algonquins had made to them, who had heard it from the Montagnais savages. The savage warmly praised the good treatment that I had given him in France, and the curious things that he had seen there, at which he made them all wonder; and they went away quietly enough to their cabins in the woods, to wait for the morning, when I should show them the place where I wished them to encamp. I also saw my lad, who was dressed like a savage, and he also praised the treatment of the savages, according to the customs of their country; and explained to me all that he had seen in the winter, and what he had learned from them.

When the next day came I showed them a place for their cabins, with regard to which the elders and leading men consulted by themselves. And, after spending a long time doing this, they had me called alone with my servant, who had learned their language very well, and they told him that they desired to form a close friendship with me, in view of the courtesy that I had

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shown them in the past; and they again praised the treatment that I had shown to our savage as if he were a brother, and said that that put them under obligations to wish me so much good that all that I desired of them they would try to provide me with. After a good deal of discourse they made me a present of one hundred beavers. I gave them in exchange some other kinds of merchandise; and they told me that there were more than four hundred savages who were to come from their country, and that what had detained them was an Iroquois prisoner who belonged to me, who had escaped and had returned to his country. He had given them to understand that I had given him his liberty and some merchandise, and that I was coming to the rapids with six hundred Iroquois to wait for the Algonquins and kill them all. The fear occasioned by this news had stopped them, and that but for that they would have come. I told them that the prisoner had stolen away without leave, and that our savage knew well in what way he had gone, and that there had been no thought of giving up their friendship, as they had been told, since we had gone to the war in company with them, and had sent my lad into their country to accept their friendship; and that

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this promise that I had kept so faithfully to them confirmed this fact still more. They replied that, as far as they were concerned, they never had thought it so, and that they understood well that all this talk was far from the truth; and that if they had thought otherwise they would not have come; and that it was the others who were afraid, as a consequence of never having seen a Frenchman, except my youth. They also told me that three hundred Algonquins were coming in five or six days, if we wished to wait for them, to go to war with them against the Iroquois, and that if I did not go they would return without doing it. I talked with them a great deal about the source of the great river,[2] and about their country, concerning which they discoursed in detail, not only with regard to the rivers, falls, lakes and lands, but also the peoples who inhabit it, and what is found there. Four of them assured me that they had seen a sea very remote from their country, and that the path thither was very difficult, not only because of the wars, but also because of the wilderness that it is necessary to cross in order to reach it. They also told me that the preceding winter some savages came from the region of Florida, beyond

[2]The St. Lawrence.

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the country of the Iroquois, who lived in sight of our ocean sea and were on friendly terms with these savages. In fine, they gave me very exact descriptions, showing me by signs all the places where they had been, taking pleasure in recounting all these things to me; and I did not get tired of listening to them, in order to find out from them matters about which I had been uncertain. When all this talk was over I told them that they should trade off the few commodities that they had; which they did.

The next day, after having traded off all that they had, which was little, they made a barricade around their dwelling on the side where the woods were, and said that it was for their safety, in order to avoid being surprised by the enemy; which we took for gospel truth.[2] When night came, they called our savage, who was sleeping on my despatch boat, and my servant, and they went to them. After having talked some time they had me called, too, about midnight. When I came to their cabin I found them all seated in council, and they

[2]Champlain explains, in his narrative of 1613, that he discovered later that these Indians were suspicious of the other Frenchmen and feared they would be attacked. *Voyages of Champlain*, II, 23 and 26.

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made me sit near them, saying that it was their custom when they wished to make a proposition to assemble at night, in order not to be diverted by looking at things, and that the daylight diverted the mind by things; but, in my opinion, they wished to tell me their wishes in secret, having confidence in me, as they have since given me to understand, telling me that they wanted very much to see me alone; that some of them had been beaten; that they were as well disposed toward me as toward their children, and had so much confidence in me that they would do what I said, but that they were very distrustful of other savages;[4] that if I should return I might take as many of their people as I wished, provided that they were under the leadership of a chief; and that they sent for me to assure me further of their friendship, which never should be broken, and to beg that I should not be ill-disposed toward them; that knowing that I had made up my mind to see their country, they would show it to

[4]For *des autres sauvages,* the reading, to judge from the more detailed account in the narrative of 1613, should be either *des autres,* i. e., the other Frenchmen, or *des autres pataches,* the other boats, i. e., those belonging to the independent French traders who had followed after Champlain. Cf. Laverdière, *Voyages, 1613,* 251, 257.

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me at the risk of their lives, aiding me with a goodly number of men who could go anywhere; and that in the future we should expect the same from them that they did from us. They at once sent for fifty beavers and four of their shell necklaces[5] (which they value as we do chains of gold). These presents, they said, were from the other captains, who never had seen me, and that they had sent them to me, and that they desired to be my friends always, but that if there were any Frenchmen who wished to go with them they should be very glad, and that they wished more than ever to maintain a firm friendship.

After much talk I proposed to them that, since they were willing to show me their country, I would ask His Majesty to aid us with forty or fifty men equipped with what was necessary for this journey, and that I would embark with them, provided that they supply us with what provisions we should need during this journey; that I would take something to them to make presents with to the chiefs of the country through which we should go, and that we should return to pass the winter in our settlement; that if I should find the country to be good and fertile, several settlements

[5]Necklaces of wampum.

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would be made there, and that by this means we should have communication with one another, living happily in the future in the fear of God, whom they would be taught to know.

They were much pleased with this proposition, and asked me to shake hands on it, saying that they, on their part, would do all that they could to carry it out; and that as for provisions we should not lack for them any more than they themselves; and they assured me once more that I should be shown what I wished to see. Upon that I took my leave of them at daybreak, thanking them for their willingness to favor my desire, and begging them always to continue to feel so.

The next day, the 17th of that month,[6] they decided to return and to take with them Savignon, to whom I gave some trinkets. He gave me to understand that he was going to lead a hard life in comparison with that which he had had in France. So he went off with great regret, and I was very glad to be relieved of him. Two captains told me that in the morning of the next day they would send to fetch me; which they did. I and my servant embarked with those who came. When we came to

[6] June 17, 1611.

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the rapids we went some leagues into the woods, where they were encamped on the lake, where I had been before. When they saw me they were very much pleased and began to shout, according to their custom, and our savage came to me to ask me to go into his brother's cabin, where he at once had meat and fish put over the fire to give me a feast.

While I was there a feast was held, to which all the leaders and I also were invited. And although I had already had a good meal, nevertheless, in order not to offend against the custom of the country, I went to it. After banqueting they went into the woods to hold their council, and, meanwhile, I amused myself in looking at the landscape, which is very pretty. Some time afterward they sent for me, to tell me what they had resolved upon among themselves. I went to them with my servant. When I had seated myself near them they told me that they were glad to see me, and that I had not failed to keep my word as to what I had promised them; and that they realized my kind intentions more and more, which were to keep up my friendship further; and that before going away they wished to take leave of me; and that it would have been very disappointing for

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them if they had gone without seeing me again; and that they thought that, in that case, I should have been ill-disposed toward them. They begged me again to give them a man. I told them that if there was one among us who desired to go with them, I should be very glad of it.

After having made me understand their good-will for the last time, and I mine toward them, the case of a savage came up, who had been a prisoner of the Iroquois three times and had escaped very fortunately, and was resolved to go, with nine others, to avenge the cruelties that his enemies had made him suffer. All the captains begged me to dissuade him if I could, inasmuch as he was very brave, and they feared that if he should advance so far into the enemy with so small a force he never would return. I did so, to please them, by all the reasons that I could urge, which were of little effect upon him, as he showed me some of his fingers cut off and great cuts and burns on his body; and he said that it was impossible for him to live without killing his enemies and having his revenge; and that his heart told him that he must depart as soon as he could; which he did.

When I had finished with them I begged

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them to take me back in our despatch boat. To do this they prepared eight canoes to run the rapids, and stripped themselves naked, and made me take off everything but my shirt; for often it happens that some are lost in shooting the rapids; therefore, they keep close to one another, to aid one another promptly if a canoe should happen to capsize. They said to me: "If by chance yours should happen to turn over, as you do not know how to swim, on no account abandon it, but hold on to the little sticks that are in the middle, for we will save you easily." I assure you that those who have not seen or passed this place in these little boats that they have, could not pass it without great fear, even the most self-possessed persons in the world. But these people are so skillful in shooting these rapids that it is easy for them. I did it with them—a thing that I never had done, nor had any Christian, except my youth—and we came to our barks, where I lodged a large number of them.

There was a young man among us who decided to go with the Huron savages, who live about 180 leagues from the rapids; and he went with Savignon's brother, who was one of the captains, and he promised me to show him all that he could.

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The next day[7] a number of Algonquin savages came. They traded the little that they had, and made me a special gift of thirty beavers, for which I paid them. They begged me to continue in my good feeling toward them; which I promised to do. They talked to me very particularly in regard to some explorations in the north, which could be turned to use. And, in connection with this, they told me that if there was one of my companions who wished to go with them, they would show him something that I would be glad of, and that they would treat him like one of their children. I promised them to give them a young fellow,[8] and they were very glad. When he left me to go with them I gave him a detailed memorandum of things that he ought to observe among them.

After they had traded the little that they had, they separated into three groups—one to go to war, one to go up by the rapids, and the other by way of a small stream, which empties into the great rapids—and they set out on the 18th day of this month,[9] and we also.

[7] July 12. The next day after Pont Gravé started for Tadoussac. *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 31.

[8] Probably Nicolas de Vignau, L. For Vignau see below, vol. II, pp. 1 and 33, ff.

[9] July 18, 1611.

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On the 19th I arrived at Quebec, where I decided to return to France, and I reached La Rochelle on the 11th of August.[10]

[10]According to the narrative of 1613 Champlain left Tadoussac Aug. 11 and reached La Rochelle Sept. 16. *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 34. Soon after his arrival in France Champlain nearly lost his life by a fall from a horse. For the further details of his stay there see vol. II, 43, ff.

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